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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

Alabama Historical Society

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1897-1898

TRANS.

EDITED

By THOMAS McADORY OWEN

Secretary

2

VOL. II

Tuscaloosa, Alabama:
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY.
1898

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PUBLICATIONS

OF THE

Alabama Historical Society.

TRANSACTIONS, VOL. II.

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been made to secure accuracy of statement; and where possible the treatment appears to have been exhaustive.

The editor confesses the diffidence with which his part of the work has been done. The examples are not numerous where editors of similar volumes have undertaken full annotation. They are usually content to introduce a chance note here and there. He feels justified, however, in the course here pursued, of freely inserting bibliographical, critical and illustrative notes and comments, in the common tendency now prevailing in all history work. It can but be especially helpful to the membership of the Society, which in this work may be regarded as a body of students. The text is the work of the contributor. *All of the notes are the work of the editor*, and for which he only is responsible, with the exception of Mr. Hamilton's citations to the "Early Roads of Alabama," and of the annotations to "Topographical Notes and Observations on the Alabama River, August 1814," which are the joint work of Mr. Hamilton and the editor. In order to place before the student a few outline facts as to the life and connections of the several contributors, brief sketches are given.

It is the earnest wish of the editor that this volume shall tend to the furtherance of historical enterprise in the State, and cause a growth of confidence in the future and possibilities of the Society. It is needless to add that, if such result follows in even a slight degree, the labor and time cheerfully given to its preparation and publication will not have been in vain.

December 31, 1898.

OFFICERS FOR 1898-1899:

PRESIDENT:

His Excellency, JOSEPH FORNEY JOHNSTON, Governor, Montgomery.

VICE-PRESIDENTS:

WILLIAM LEROY BROUN, President A. & M. College, Auburn.
COL. MARTIN LUTHER STANSEL, Carrollton.
EDWARD LAFAYETTE RUSSELL, ESQ., Mobile.
THOMAS CHALMERS MCCORVEY, Professor of History and Philosophy, University of Alabama.
PETER JOSEPH HAMILTON, ESQ., Mobile.

SECRETARY AND TREASURER:

THOMAS MCADORY OWEN, ESQ., Carrollton.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE:

(In addition to the above officials)

DR. WILLIAM STOKES WYMAN, Professor of Latin, University of Alabama.
DR. JAMES KNOX POWERS, President of the University of Alabama.
DR. EUGENE ALLEN SMITH, State Geologist, University of Alabama.
DR. JOSHUA HILL FOSTER, Tuscaloosa.
JAMES HARRIS FITTS, ESQ., Tuscaloosa.
JUDGE JAMES JEFFERSON MAYFIELD, Tuscaloosa.

There are no qualifications for membership. All persons interested in the work of the Society, and desiring to promote its objects, are invited to become members.

Donations, whether of money, or of books, papers and relics for the library, are solicited.

There is no initiation fee; annual dues $2.00. All publications free to members.

Address all communications to the SECRETARY.

AN ACT

To incorporate the Alabama Historical Society.

Sec. 1. *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Alabama in General Assembly convened,* That the Historical Society of this State be and the same is hereby incorporated by the name and style of "The Alabama Historical Society."

Sec. 2. *And be it further enacted,* That the said corporation may take and hold real and personal property to the value of ten thousand dollars, may make a constitution and by-laws for the government thereof not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of this State, may sue and be sued, and do all other acts and things consistent with the object of the said corporation which any other corporation may or can do; but shall not exercise banking privileges or emit notes, bonds or bills to circulate as money.

Approved, February 5, 1852.

Acts, 1851-52, p. 288.

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I. PROCEEDINGS OF THE ANNUAL MEETING, JUNE 21, 1898.

The Annual meeting of the Alabama Historical Society for 1898 was held at 8 o'clock p. m., June 21, in Clark Hall, University of Alabama. Dr. W. S. Wyman, one of the Vice-Presidents, presided. In the absence of Col. R. A. Hardaway, Secretary, Thomas M. Owen was designated to act.

After calling the body to order, Dr. Wyman stated that little apparent interest had been manifested in the work of the Society for several years past. The Secretary, Col. Hardaway, had removed from Alabama, and no fees had been collected, or publications issued.

The exchanges which were received had been deposited by Mrs. Amelia G. Gorgas in the library of the University in a case provided some years since. These were all kept separate from the books of the library. He expressed the hope that more systematic work would be done in the future. No program had been arranged for this meeting, but he understood that Mr. Owen had several papers, which had been secured by him for the occasion.

In the absence of a program, and no special order of business being suggested, Mr. Owen announced the papers referred to by the presiding officer. He stated that all of them had been prepared at his personal instance, to be read at this time. He regarded these papers as meritorious, and of value to the historical literature of the State. He found no difficulty in securing these, and others could have been obtained on request. He called attention to the great interest manifested all over the country in history, and historical investigation. It appeared in the increased attention given history in University and College courses, in the publication of archives and records by the National and State governments, in the growth of patriotic societies, and in the revival and organization of State and local historical Societies. He was satisfied that the cultured people of Alabama were

aroused to a substantial revival of the State Society, and that numbers would eagerly co-operate if they could feel that their efforts would be fruitful. He thought the General Assembly could be induced to lend its aid if the subject were properly put before it. He noted instances of important local work being done.

The titles of the papers were given, and extracts read. Gratification was expressed at their number and character. They are as follows:

The Genesis of Public Education in Alabama, by Gen. W. F. Perry;

Early Times in the Vicinity of the present City of Montgomery, by Dr. W. S. Wyman;

Early Roads of Alabama, by P. J. Hamilton;

Surrender of Weatherford, by Wm. G. Orr;

Columbian Institute, by L. V. Rosser;

Reminiscences of Lafayette's Visit to Cahaba,[1] by Mrs. Emmet George;

Joseph G. Baldwin, by T. B. Wetmore;

Clement Claiborne Clay, by Mrs. Virginia Clay-Clopton;

Creek War Incidents, by H. S. Halbert;

The Work of William Henry Fowler as Superintendent of Army Records, 1863-1865, by Thomas M. Owen;

The Mission of Francis Scott Key to Alabama, by Prof. T. C. McCorvey;[1]

Old Fortification in Tuscaloosa County,[1] by R. S. Owen;

Alabama River Boats burned or sunk from 1865 to 1894.[1]

The following members were unanimously elected by acclamation: Dr. Wm. LeRoy Broun, Alexander Eddins, Joseph Forney Johnston, James Jefferson Mayfield, Edward Lafayette Russell, Levin Vinson Rosser, Francis Marion Purifoy, and Judge Thomas N. McClellan.[2]

Mr. Owen introduced the following resolutions. They were discussed generally, and on his motion were adopted:

Whereas, The objects and work of the ALABAMA HISTORICAL SOCIETY can best be promoted by the plans hereinafter set forth, therefore, be it resolved,

---

[1]These papers have been withheld for future publication.

[2]Mr. McClellan declined the election to membership, and also the position of Vice-President.

1. That the Secretary be and is hereby instructed and empowered to use all possible endeavor to build up the membership of the Society, to disseminate information as to its objects and work, and generally to further its interests and manage its affairs.

2. That he is hereby empowered to nominate, enroll and issue certificates to persons as members, resident, corresponding or honorary, who have the qualifications prescribed and who comply with the rules of the organization.

3. That he shall cause to be published, irrespective of previous publication by the Society the proceedings of its several meetings from its organization to and including the annual meeting of 1897, together with all of the articles and papers heretofore presented, or collected, the latter to be carefully edited, which shall form Vol. I of the *Transactions*.

4. That he shall cause the proceedings and papers of this annual meeting to be carefully edited and published, together with such other papers, or documents, as he may deem advisable, which shall form Vol. II of the *Transactions*, etc.

5. That in carrying out these resolutions he shall be authorized to make all such expenditures for stationery, postage, printing and binding, and clerical assistance, he may deem necessary.

On motion of Col. McCorvey the rules were by unanimous vote amended so as to fix dues at two dollars per annum, without an initiation fee.

Mr. Owen introduced the following resolutions, which were on his motion unanimously adopted:

Whereas, it is wise, patriotic and useful to celebrate publicly the anniversaries of great and important events, therefore, be it resolved,

1. That the Alabama Historical Society favors the celebration in May, 1899, of the one hundredth anniversary of the termination in May, 1799, of Spanish rule and occupation north of line 31 degrees north latitude in what was then the Mississippi Territory, but now in the State of Alabama;

2. That the president shall appoint a committee of five members of the Society, who shall be and are charged with the duty of providing for and conducting said celebration, with full power to act in all matters pertaining thereto, the said celebration to be held in the city of Mobile, or at such other place in the State as to said committee may appear the most suitable; and

3. That said committee shall make a report to the next annual meeting of the Society, in which shall be given a full history of the said celebration, with full copies of all speeches and papers, and such other matters as to said committee may be of interest.

On motion of Miss Julia Tutwiler the rules were suspended and officers for 1898-99 were elected by acclamation:

(For list *see* page 7.)

There were no official reports.

The meeting adjourned.

THOMAS M. OWEN, *Acting Secretary.*

II. THE GENESIS OF PUBLIC EDUCATION IN ALABAMA.

By Gen. William F. Perry,[1] of Bowling Green, Ky.

On February 15, 1854, the General Assembly passed "An Act to establish and maintain a system of free public schools in Alabama," which act forms the legislative beginning of the public school system in this State.[2]

ANTECEDENT CONDITIONS.

As all great upward movements grow out of pre-existing conditions, and to a large extent, take shape from them, it may be necessary here to inquire what were the conditions existing at the time this movement began? In other words what had the people of Alabama accomplished, in the matter of popular education, and what were they then doing?

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[1] William F. Perry, son of Hiram and Nancy *(Flake)* Perry, was born in Jackson County, Ga., 1823. He was largely self-taught; and was in charge of a high school in Talladega, 1848 to 1853. He was admitted to the bar in 1854, and in February of the same year was chosen Superintendent of Education. This position he resigned in 1858, and returned to the school room as head of the East Alabama College at Tuskegee. In 1862 he enlisted in the Confederate Army, and became Major of the 44th Alabama. (*See* sketch of this Regiment by J. J. Garrett *infra.*) He became successively Lieutenant Colonel, Colonel and Brigadier General. He was a brave and fearless soldier, and splendid official and executive. In 1867 he removed to Ky., where he has since resided, engaged in teaching. He married a daughter of George P. Brown, whose wife was a daughter of Thomas Chilton, Esq. For sketch *see* Garrett's *Public Men in Ala.*, p. 595; and Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 343-4. The latter gives his military record.

Mr. Perry had preserved all important papers accumulated during his term of his office, but unfortunately they were destroyed during the Civil War. Hence, residing in a distant State, he was compelled to rely almost entirely upon memory in the preparation of this paper.

[2] *Acts of Ala.*, 1853-54, pp. 8-18. The full preamble recites:

"That to carry into effect that provision of our State Constitution which wisely declares that 'schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged in this State;' to realize the objects of the General Government in making grants and appropriations for the establishment of schools in each township; and to extend, upon equal terms, to all the children of our State, the inestimable blessing of liberal instruction, the following system of free public schools is hereby established in this State, and shall have the full force of law after the passage of this act."

Nothing entitled to the name of a system of education had ever existed.[3] There was a fund amounting, at that time, to about one million dollars, belonging, under the terms of the grant of school lands made by Congress, not to the State, but to the individual township. This fund, so far from being an aid, was really an obstacle in the way of the establishment of a general system of schools. Its uselessness for such a purpose was due to the great inequality of its distribution. There were many hundreds of townships whose school lands were totally valueless; and probably more than half the remainder possessed funds so small as to be practically valueless. There were whole counties whose township funds consolidated would hardly have supported a single decent school. It should be remembered, too, that these sections of the State contained a white population at once the densest and the most needy.[4]

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[3] The Constitution of 1819 declared that "Schools and the means of education shall be forever encouraged." In the face of this command, legislation for twenty-five years was directed along lines that poorly operated to carry it out. There are a multitude of acts regulating (1) the State University and its land grant; (2) the incorporation and regulation of academies; and (3) the management and preservation of the 16th Section Funds. But no "system" was adopted. This apathy is hard to understand, unless it can be accounted for in the absorbtion of interest in financial and material questions. It is noticable to the careful student of the times that during these years there was an indifference and even hostile opposition on the part of many of the political leaders.

Notwithstanding this, the Governors' messages continued to impress the duty of action; and there were not wanting many earnest efforts on the part of leaders in the Legislature. Notable among these was the unsuccessful attempt of Rev. Daniel P. Bestor, the member from Greene County, in the session of 1837, in behalf of "a measure for improving and encouraging the advantages of common schools," for an interesting account of which reference is made to Garrett's *Public Men in Alabama*, pp. 43, 60.

In the Legislature of 1844 an effort was made to secure the passage of an Act to provide for the preservation and consolidation of the sixteenth section fund, and for the establishment of a "system of common school education" throughout the State. It ended disastrously.

Gov. Henry W. Collier had made strong representations on the subjects of education and schools in his message to the Legislature of 1849-50, and these he emphasized in that of 1851-52. The Committee on Education, 1851-52, to whom that part of the message was referred, reported "A bill to appoint a Superintendent of Public Schools, and for other purposes," prefaced by a full examination of the subject. The provisions of the bill were limited, and confined almost entirely to the office of Superintendent. The bill failed of passage, but made possible the enlarged act of the session of 1853-54.

[4] The origin of the "Sixteenth section" grant is clearly presented in Clark's *History of Education in Ala.*, pp. 217-219. For Alabama it originated in the first subdivision of §6 of the Enabling Act of March 2, 1819. Statistics of the fund are to be found in the Auditor's *Reports*, and in Legislative documents. *See also* Garrett, pp. 668, 673.

The townships having the largest school endowments were found chiefly in the Tennessee Valley, and in the central portion of the State known as the black belt. While it is true that the funds of most of them were legitimately and wisely used, it is also true that they belonged to those who were in least need of aid; and it is equally true, that many of the most richly endowed townships were covered with cotton plantations and negro quarters, and had no schools at all.

But what had the great mass of the people done for themselves? Left without guidance, encouragement, or any material help from without, what means had they employed, and what facilities had they created for the education of their children? These questions, of course, have no reference to the endowed institutions and higher Seminaries of learning which existed in the State.

The answers which might be given to the above question are as various as were the conditions which prevailed in different localities. In the towns and villages were generally found school buildings more or less commodious, but rudely and uncomfortably furnished, and defaced by abuse and neglect. The teachers looked to the patronage alone for their support, and their continuance at a place depended upon their success in maintaining patronage. Here and there, teachers of efficiency and good scholarship were found, who did excellent work; but ordinarily changes were frequent, and the schools were languishing. Many thriving communities that happened to be blessed with public-spirited citizens with or without the aid of township funds, sustained schools that afforded moderate comforts and fair advantages. In rare cases, enterprising teachers succeeded in arousing a strong local interest, and in building up what might be termed country academies,[5] in which the classics and sciences were taught, and aspiring young men received their preparation for College.

To illustrate the power of personal magnetism, and the extent to which even the humblest people can be stirred by the desire for improvement, I can not forbear mentioning a school that I

[5] Some of these became famous, as Prof. Henry Tutwiler's Green Spring School; Mrs. Stafford's Alabama Female Institute; and Green Academy at Huntsville. There were numbers of others, and reference is made to the *Acts* of the Legislature, where charters for almost all of them are to be found. *See* sketch of "Columbian Institute" *infra*.

visited, when a youth, among the hills of DeKalb County. A stranger came to the neighborhood and began teaching in a rude school house. Interest was awakened, and the house was soon filled. Interest grew into enthusiasm, and to accommodate the increasing numbers, rough sheds covered with boards were constructed around the house, and to these were added bush arbors, until the place resembled an old-fashioned religious camp-ground. There were in attendance, I suppose, not less than one hundred and fifty pupils of all ages from six to thirty. The principal occupied the house; each shed was presided over by an assistant; while the arbors were filled with classes in spelling, reading, geography and simple numbers, which were presided over by their own members, each in his turn assuming the duty of leadership, and going over the entire lesson before surrendering the place to a successor. The utmost ceremony was observed in every change, and each leader, on taking his place, was saluted with profound obeisance by the class. The whole machinery seemed to move with the utmost precision, and no evidence was anywhere visible of idleness, misbehavior, or disorder.

It is painful to recall, even at this late day, the wretched provision made for the education of the young in those large areas of the State where the land is unproductive, and the people were poor. Hundreds of townships were entirely without schools; and there were whole blocks of counties that could boast of scarcely a single pleasantly located, comfortable school house. Many that I saw in my travels through the State beggared description. But for the rude benches visible through the cracks, and the broken slates and tattered spelling-books scattered around them, any one would have been at a loss to determine for what purpose connected with civilized life they were designed.

It may reasonably be supposed that the character of the instruction received by the children in such places was on a par with their material surroundings. Where there were no township funds, there were no trustees. Any one could get the use of the wretched make-shift of a house, who could secure from parents a sufficient number of pupils pledged under written articles of agreement. The rate of tuition was usually one dollar per month, to be partly paid, perhaps, in provisions, or in the board of the teacher for some specified time. It goes without

saying, that only teachers of a very low grade of qualifications could be obtained. A majority of them, at that time, were men, and in most cases, men who had resorted to teaching because they had proved unfit for anything else. As Horace Mann said of the teachers of Massachusetts at the beginning of his great work of reform in that State, they were "mousing owls, employed to teach young eagles how to fly."

To harmonize discordant elements, and bring order out of chaos; to quicken and direct existing interest, and awaken it where none was found; to help the helpless, or rather aid them in the work of self help; to produce, by all possible means, the wide spread conviction that the proper training of those who are to come after them is the greatest and most responsible duty that any generation of men can ever be called upon to perform, and to unite the people of the State in an organized and persistent effort for its performance,—this was the great task upon which the State, under the leadership of a few enlightened minds, had now entered.

SCHOOL LAWS.

Alabama was the first of the Cotton States, and one of the first of the slave-holding States, to enter upon such an undertaking. The session of the Legislature of 1853-54 found public opinion prepared for definite action. This body contained several men of prominence, who at once gave the movement shape, among them Robert M. Patton, Senator from Lauderdale, Jabez L. M. Curry, of Talladega, and Alexander B. Meek, of Mobile. The committee having the work in hand were aided by the counsels of Dr. Andrew A. Lipscomb,[6] a gentleman of varied accomplishments, then living in Montgomery.

Those who drafted the original school law, as well as those charged with its administration, may justly be said to have embarked upon an unchartered sea.

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[6]"Born and educated in Virginia. He came to Alabama in early manhood, with rare faculties for public usefulness. For profound and varied learning, he, perhaps, had no superior in the country. His pulpit ministrations, his labors as a teacher in schools, seminaries and colleges, his accomplishments as a writer, the grandeur of his thoughts, and the earnestness of his soul for the welfare of men, for their moral and spiritual illumination, breathed in words of music, place him in the front rank of scholars and divines in this or any other age."—Garrett, pp. 595-97.

It is true that highly developed systems of popular education existed in other States. The school systems of New England had been the growth of years, and had recently received a great uplift through the labors of Mr. Horace Mann. Successful systems also existed in several of the North Western States. But there, the population was homogeneous; the school lands were more valuable; and the proceeds of their sales, under the terms of the grant, had been consolidated into general school funds. But no precedents were anywhere to be found which could be safely followed in shaping a system adapted to the social conditions then existing in Alabama.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the first draft of a law thus made without experience to guide, or precedent to follow, should have contained features which required modification; and should have omitted details which had to be supplied, either by the Superintendent in the course of administration, or by subsequent legislation. And still it can be truly said, to the honor of its authors, that the system, in its subsequent development, shaped itself by the outline and framework which the original draft supplied.

It purported to be a law for the establishment of a system of free public schools in the State.[7] To sustain this system, it appropriated one hundred thousand dollars to be paid annually from the treasury, the interest of the sixteenth section fund, which then amounted to about sixty thousand dollars per annum, together with some few other sources of revenue.

It provided for the election of an officer styled the "Superintendent of Education," and clearly defined his duties. The county administration was imposed upon the Judges of Probate, who were required to perform their duties without compensation. The township officers consisted of a board of three trustees. They were charged with duties which called for more than ordinary administrative power. They were to raise means for the erection of school houses when such were needed; to divide the townships into such districts as the situation demanded; to select and employ teachers and supervise the schools; to make settlements and submit annual reports.

The use of the word free in connection with the schools was

[7] *See* foot note 2, *supra*, for preamble.

unfortunate. It created exaggerated expectations, which were doomed to the shock of a sore disappointment.

The weakest feature of the system was in the county administration. The Judges of Probate, not without good reason, regarded the imposition of new and onerous duties upon them without compensation, as a great hardship; and while many of them were faithful and efficient, they could not give the amount of attention that was absolutely essential to the prompt and effective inauguration of an untried system.

The adoption of the township as a school corporation, although under the circumstances a necessity, involved great inconveniences. It complicated the duties of the trustees, who were generally plain unlettered men, and led to neighborhood jealousies and dissensions in reference to the location of schools. Lines of latitude and longitude pay no respect to the physical features of a country, or to the convenience of the people. Many good neighborhoods, capable of sustaining a single school, were split by township lines, and thrown into two, three, or four different corporations.

THE SUPERINTENDENT.

The session of the legislature was approaching its close, when the school law was enacted, and the next day was set for the election of a Superintendent. No one had been spoken of in connection with the office, except Dr. Lipscomb; and it was generally understood that he would be the only candidate.

Gen. J. Tipton Bradford, however, decided to put me in nomination against him, although I was a hundred miles away, and personally unknown to nine-tenths of the members. Gen. Bradford was a man of extensive influence, a remarkable judge of men, and an indefatigable worker. By the aid of a few of my personal friends, including Mr. Curry and Chief Justice W. P. Chilton, of the Supreme Court, whom he used as referees, he had succeeded in securing the pledges of a majority of the members before the two Houses met in joint session for the election. The result, after four ballots, was a startling surprise to all except to the masterly tactician who had brought it about, and was justly a source of sore disappointment and chagrin to the friends and admirers of Dr. Lipscomb.[8]

[8]The vote is given in Garrett, p. 584.

A few days afterwards, having given bond and taken the oath of office, I was turned into an empty room in the Capitol, oppressed with a sense of the responsibility upon me, and with ominous forebodings of the herculean labor that was before me. I was in my thirty-first year; had little experience in public affairs, and no knowledge of the practical workings of public educational systems.

ORGANIZATION.

After setting my office in order, I opened correspondence with the Judges of Probate, asking them to order elections of trustees in the townships and to instruct them, when elected, to ascertain and report the number of youth of school age in their respective townships. It was explained that such reports constituted the only data obtainable for the apportionment of the money set apart for the support of schools; and that under the law, the apportionment must be made before the establishment of schools could be authorized.

All this seemed very simple; and I was ignorant enough to expect that the work could be accomplished in the course of two or three months at farthest. But unexpected difficulties were encountered.

Quite a number of the Judges of Probate paid no attention to my request, and it was not found out until after great delay. Many of them who earnestly endeavored to do their duty found it difficult to reach the townships. Circulars could not be addressed to townships which had no organization and no legal representative. Notices in the county papers often failed, while in many counties no paper was published. And then, there was the inertia of ignorance, the difficulty of getting masses of uninformed people out of the ruts in which they have been moving for generations.

To the people of more than one-third of the State, the township as a corporation, or as a body politic of any kind, was unknown. The very boundaries had faded from their minds and memories with the disappearance of the marks made on the forest trees by the surveyors who had located them. To reach these large masses of people, induce concerted action in tracing out their long-forgotten boundaries and in organizing themselves into corporations, was a task the difficulty of which no one had

anticipated, and which was accomplished at last by dint of hammering.

It is easy to see that the almost fatal weakness was found in the county administration. Duties which would have employed the whole time of officers chosen for the purpose, and paid for their services, were unwisely, and unjustly, imposed upon men who were already busy, and who found it necessary either to neglect the new duties for which they received no compensation, or the duties which they were elected and paid to perform.

There can be no question that energetic officers, employed for the purpose, and paid for their services, by personal visits to the townships, could, in six or eight weeks, have accomplished a task that had required as many weary months. It is but just to say that no difficulty occurred in the counties whose townships had maintained their school organization.

APPORTIONMENT.

It was late in the Fall before complete returns were received, and the apportionment was begun. In the absence of any specific direction of law, the distribution was made by giving to the townships that had nothing, and adding to those that had little, until the appropriation was exhausted, leaving those whose school revenue exceeded the average thus produced simply to retain what they had.

The appropriation thus distributed yielded a per capita of one dollar and thirty-three cents. It seemed meager enough, and was a great disappointment to many who persisted in cherishing the illusion, which I had vainly striven to dispel, that there was to be a mammoth system of schools wholly supported by the State.

DIVIDENDS AND INSTRUCTIONS.

A statement was sent to each Judge of Probate showing the amounts to which the townships of his county would be entitled. They were accompanied with circulars of advice and instruction to the trustees in reference to the establishment of schools.

The preparation of these instructions cost me much anxious thought. While such a course seemed to have been contemplated by the law, I felt that it would have a dwarfing effect upon the

system, and upon the minds of the people to fall into the habit of employing teachers for only such time as the public money would last; and was anxious, at the beginning, to give such direction to the State appropriation that it would stimulate, rather than suppress, the spirit of self-help in the people. The trustees were therefore advised to authorize teachers whom they approved to raise their own schools by subscription, the patrons being responsible to the teacher for the tuition, at specified rates, of the pupils subscribed, and the trustees engaging to use the money under their control, as far as it would go, in discharging the liability of the patrons.

All this seemed bungling enough; but to my mind it had several advantages; 1st, it would avoid all danger of complaint that the trustees had imposed upon the people a teacher who was not acceptable; 2nd, It put all the parties upon a method of procedure with which they were already familiar; 3rd, It showed them that the State had not proposed to relieve them of all expense and responsibility in the education of their children, but to guide and assist them in the performance of a duty which they could never abdicate.

MOVEMENT.

The first of January, 1855, was fixed as the beginning of the school year; and the rude machinery began to move, slowly here, with jar and friction there, but it moved!

The year 1855 was spent in visiting the counties of the State, and in conducting an extremely heavy correspondence. Questions of all shapes and sizes, growing out of every thinkable complication of conditions, came in a continuous stream. At first, some of them were very embarrassing. After a time, however, I became so saturated with the system, in its entirety and in its details, that my mind reached conclusions with ease and confidence. Of course, I made it understood that my opinions carried with them no judicial authority; but it is, even now, a source of pleasure to remember that no case ever came to my knowledge in which the parties in controversy failed to acquiesce in my decisions; and that I was able in numerous instances, to harmonize dissensions and prevent litigation.

In my tour through the State, I found the schools generally in

operation[9] and the people pleased and hopeful, especially in those counties which were most benefited by the system; and returned to my office feeling fully assured that the public educational system of Alabama, though still crude and imperfect, had come to stay.

It was a source of much regret, that the statistics, which I was able to collect, of the first year's work of the schools, were not such as could be set forth in tabulated form in my report to the legislature, which met in December, 1855. I, therefore, gave only a brief history of what had been done, and discussed some changes in the school law which were imperatively demanded.

I was very apprehensive that the tardiness with which the machinery had moved off, and the fact that I was unable to make a complete report, would furnish a pretext to the enemies of the system to make an assault either upon it, or upon my administration; but was gratified to find no open manifestation of hostility.

RECONSTRUCTION.

The Committees on Education of the Senate and House of Representatives, 1855-56, were gentlemen of broad views, in thorough sympathy with the purposes of the system. The Hon. R. M. Patton, of Lauderdale, and Col. Thomas H. Hobbs, of Limestone, were the Chairmen. The Committees met in joint session, and requested my presence at every meeting. The utmost harmony prevailed, and there was everywhere visible an earnest desire to do the best possible for the interests of public education in the State.

The school law was entirely remodeled and greatly simplified and improved.[10] The creation of the office of County Superintendent was a change of vital importance, and would of itself have marked an epoch in the history of the system.

The appropriation was so increased as to raise the pro-rata to one dollar and fifty cents. The methods of disbursement were also greatly simplified. The amounts declared to be due the

[9] "There are several schools in townships whose 16th section funds keep up the same the whole year; pay a classical teacher, and every township but one, some twenty-five, held elections and organized under the New Public School Act."—Smith's *History of Pickens County* (1856), pp. 187-8.

[10] Entitled "An act to render more efficient the system of Free Public Schools in the State of Alabama," approved Feb. 14, 1856.—*Acts*, 1855-56, pp. 33-48. There was a further amendatory act, approved Feb. 24, 1860.—*Acts*, 1859-60, pp. 95-97.

various counties, by the State Superintendent, were required to be deposited in the county treasuries to be subject to the drafts of the County Superintendents; and all officers were held to strict account for money coming into their hands.

Having been re-elected without opposition, and now assured of efficient County administration, I entered upon my second term of office with renewed confidence and energy. The revised school law with notes and explanations were published in connection with a complete book of forms and instructions for all transactions connected with the public schools.

The methods previously recommended for the employment of teachers, and for the disbursement of the public money were continued; and minute directions for the distribution of the money in payment of tuition were given to the teachers, illustrated by an actual example of a settlement made upon assumed data. I was still haunted by the dread of a miserable little system of free public schools supported with inadequate means.

To systematize and facilitate the work of the County Superintendents, an account book was prepared, which, by various rulings and captions in different parts, was adapted to every possible record connected with their office. It was so arranged and spaced, that if properly kept, it would contain a complete history, statistical and financial, of the county schools running through a series of years.

It was with a feeling of inexpressible relief that I saw the great bundles of instructions carted to the post office to be sent to their destination. It was such as a mariner might experience who had been long bound in shallows and quicksands, when he first spreads his sails on an open sea beneath a clear sky.

RESULTS.

I felt confident that new life and vigor would be imparted to the system; and the results fully equalled my expectations. The County Superintendents entered upon their duties with energy and enthusiasm. Dead locks were at an end, and jar and friction were fast disappearing. Many new schools were established, and more attention was given to the comfort and convenience of schoolhouses, though much still remained to be done in that direction. Increased interest and larger compensation had a marked tendency to bring into the schools teachers of better qualifications.

At the end of the year, full reports were received from all the counties showing most gratifying results of the year's work.

I regret that I am not able to give specific facts and figures from my report for the year 1856; but remember that I was very proud of the exhibit which I was enabled to make.

The report for 1857 showed still farther progress on all lines. There was a decided increase in the number of children reported by the trustees, and in the number both of schools and of pupils in attendance. My recollection is, that the number of pupils attending the schools was about one hundred thousand, and there was evidence to believe that the people, stimulated by the aid extended by the State, had expended far more on their schools than they had ever done before.

It will doubtless be observed that the law contained no requirements, either as to the character of the school houses used, or as to the qualifications of the teachers employed. Some would doubtless urge this as a fatal defect of the system; but it was the result of deliberate design. So much was to be done, that it was thought best to attempt but one thing at a time; to begin at the bottom and build up, rather than make a vain attempt to begin at the top and build down. If even moderate requirements had been made and strictly enforced, either as to the qualifications of teachers, or as to the character of the buildings which they were to occupy, more than half the schools would have disbanded, and the system would have collapsed. The demand of the hour was visible results in the shape of schools; and it was the part of wisdom to bend every energy to perfect the external machinery by which that demand could be met.

But this had now been done. The external machinery of the system was working without friction. A trial of two years had disclosed no feature that needed material modification. In the legislative session of 1857-8, no amendment was adopted, or even suggested.

But all this was only the first step toward the great end to be attained. There is no need to say that that end was the creation for the youth of this State such an environment, material, mental and moral, as would conduce to their development into health, intelligence and usefulness.

The extent to which all that had been done fell short of this

high ideal was depressingly suggestive of the magnitude of the task still to be accomplished.

In one of my reports I discussed at length, and in as strong terms as I knew how to employ, the cruel discomforts to which the children of the State were subjected, and the cruel injustice they suffered in being put under the care of incompetent teachers.

I fully intended, as long as my connection with the system continued, to employ every instrumentality in my power to improve these deplorable conditions, and to lift the system to a higher plane of efficiency and usefulness. But that connection was unexpectedly severed in the middle of my third term of office. The shadows of a great war were gathering; its desolations soon followed; and then came the chaos of reconstruction.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

By the Editor.

The school system of the State, although the subject of almost continuous discussion since its adoption, has received meagre historical treatment. This paper is perhaps the fullest account of the origin and organization of the effort. The most extensive general treatment is contained in Willis G. Clark's *History of Education in Alabama* (1889), in the Chapters: "Educational Land Grants," pp. 217-219; "The Public School System of Mobile," pp. 220-239; and "Public Schools in Alabama," pp. 239-253. These chapters are in the main correct, although there are some blunders and glaring omissions.

The "School Law of Alabama" is reviewed anonymously in *Ala. Ed. Jour.*, Dec., 1858, and April, 1859; and *Ala. Jour. of Education*, April, 1871, contains an article on "Alabama Public Schools before the War."

In Barnard's *American Journal of Education*, and in the *Reports* of the U. S. Com. of Education, there are numerous references *passim*.

Mr. Clark finds the origin of the present State system in the Mobile public school system which had its beginning in 1826. A full review of all the legislation in relation to the latter from Jan. 10, 1826, is presented by Peter Hamilton, Esq., in his *Brief* for appellee in the cases of the State of Alabama, *ex. rel.* G. L. Putnam vs. Gustavus Horton, Judge of Probate; the *same* vs. E. B. Lott, Tax Collector; and W. G. Clark, *et. als.* vs. E. P. Gaines, *et. als.* in Supreme Court of Alabama, June term, 1870, (8vo, pp. 23).

The source material is extensive, and is contained in the *Reports* of the Superintendents of Education, the *Journals* of the Board of Education, the *School Laws* (separately printed), and Miscellaneous Legislative and Official documents. Full and classified lists of these are presented, under the title of "Schools," in Owen's "Bibliography of Alabama," in *Report of American Historical Association for 1897*, pp. 1131-1136.

The Auditor's *Reports* contain financial statistics.

Statistics of the Sixteenth Section funds are found in the several Legislative reports, and in the Auditor's *Reports*.

For further bibliographical references *see* Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama* under the titles—Agricultural and Mechanical College, Educational Association, *et seq.* Schools, University of Alabama, and the names of particular educational institutions, schools, or colleges.

III. EARLY TIMES IN THE VICINITY OF THE PRESENT CITY OF MONTGOMERY.[1]

By William Stokes Wyman, LL. D.,[2] University of Alabama.

For the historic associations that cluster around it, one of the most interesting localities in the neighborhood of Montgomery is the level plain on the top of the river bluff, about one mile below the wharf—once an old field, but now, as I am informed, included within the premises of Mr. James Chappelle. On this spot lived as far in the past as history or tradition gives us information about this region, a band of that remarkable tribe of Indians known in our history as the Alabamas. By the Indians who lived here the town itself was called Alabama—an interesting fact which has escaped the notice of all our local historians.

Mr. Pickett tells us, in his *History of Alabama*[3] that the name of the town situated on the Montgomery bluff was Ecun-chate.[4]

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[1] From Montgomery *Advertiser*, June 7, 1893.

[2] Dr. W. S. Wyman, son of Justus and Mary *(Stokes)* Wyman, was born in Montgomery, Ala., Nov. 23, 1830. His father was born in Woburn, Mass., of Puritan stock, and his mother was of the Stokes family of N. C. The former emigrated to Claiborne, Ala., in 1818, and to Montgomery in 1822. Dr. Wyman is a graduate of the Univ. of Ala., 1851. In 1852-3 he became a member of the faculty of that institution, where he has since remained. His work there has been signally successful and he has been tendered repeatedly the office of President. He is now Prof. of Latin. Dr. Wyman is the leading authority of the State on Indian history and linguistics, besides ranking at the head of students of the history of Alabama. His wife is Malissa, daughter of Capt. James H. and Julia A. *(Searcy)* Dearing, and they have several children. For an excellent biography, with ancestry, of Dr. Wyman *see Memorial Record of Alabama*, (1893), vol. ii. pp. 1098-1100. For sketch of Capt. Dearing see William R. Smith's *Reminiscences*, (1889), pp. 96-100.

[3] Vol. I. p. 123. Pp. 122-127 contain Hawkins' full list of towns in the Creek Nation.

[4] Abram Mordecai, a Jew from Penn., who lived in 1785 on Line Creek in Montgomery County, states that Col. Tait, a British officer, drilled squads of Tories at this Indian town during the Revolutionary War.—Blue's *History of Montgomery* (1878), p. 5. "My first visit to the spot where Montgomery now stands, was in April, 1814; it was then called Chunnanugga—Chatty, or the High Red Bluff."—Woodward's *Reminiscences* (1859), p. 134. He states that Arthur Moore was the first white settler who lived here, building his house in 1815. In this he is followed by Blue, who gives more detail as to the history of Moore.

This information is derived from a "Sketch of the Creek Country,"[5] written about the year 1800, by Col. Benjamin Hawkins, United States Agent for the Creek Indians. Ecun-chate was, it is true, the name given to this town by the Creek or Muscogee Indians. But the Alabamas who lived on this spot, called their town Alabama. The name Ecun-chate is pure Creek and means "The Red Bluff"—a name fairly descriptive of the town-site. The name Alabama is not Creek at all, and the Indians who lived here were, in language and customs, quite distinct from the Creeks. The people of Montgomery may, with just pride, claim that their flourishing city is built in part on the site of the Indian town that gave name first to the river and afterwards to the State.

THE HOMES OF THE ALABAMAS.

The Alabama River formed by the junction of the Coosa and the Tallapoosa flows first in a westerly direction across a series of strata chiefly sandy, belonging to the Cretaceous formation and underlying the rotten limestone of the prairies. To these strata our geologists have given the name Eutaw Group or Eutaw Sand. The river, in cutting a channel for itself across the dip of the Eutaw strata, has formed a series of lofty and picturesque bluffs, composed for the most part of beds of coarse red and yellow sand, extending from Coosawda Bluff, in Elmore County, as far, perhaps, as House's Bluff in Autauga County.

On the tops of these high bluffs were situated in the oldest times of which we have any record, the towns of the ancient Alabamas. Along the river on both sides indications are still found here and there of the former habitations of this aboriginal people—mounds, shell-heaps, broken pottery, and flint arrow-points.

WHO WERE THE ALABAMAS?

In the absence of written records or concurrent traditions we have the right to infer from kinship in language a kinship also in

[5] This valuable sketch was published in 1848 by the Georgia Historical Society as vol. iii, part 1, of its *Collections*. It was the only part ever issued. No other volumes of its Collections were printed until 1873, when the publication was resumed as vol. iii, disregarding this part. Col. Hawkins was for more than thirty years employed by the U. S. Government in Southern Indian service. He left a mass of valuable MSS, filled with a multitude of detail as to Indian treaties, customs, manners, etc. These papers are in the Georgia Historical Society, Savannah. For description *see Publications* of the Southern History Association, April, 1899, pp. 174-6.

race. Following this clew we are warranted in saying that the Alabamas were a segment of the Choctaw-Chickasaw stock of Indians cut off from the main stock, and living on these river-bluffs long years, perhaps centuries, before they ever saw a white man. We should bear in mind the fact that the language of the Choctaws and the Chickasaws is substantially the same, and that these two tribes, according to their own traditions, were in the distant past one people. An examination of the language of the Alabamas proves that theirs is a dialect of the tongue spoken by the Choctaws and the Chickasaws. According to the tradition of the Creeks, the Alabamas had been subjugated by them and incorporated with the Creek Confederacy many generations before the white people ever reaching this country.[6]

Within historic times there were six towns of the Alabamas in the region contiguous to Montgomery. I name and number these in the order in which one would have found them in descending the river from the junction:

First—Tuskegee.
Second—Coosawda.[7]
Third—Alabama, or Ecun-chate.
Fourth—Towassa.
Fifth—Pauwokte.
Sixth—Autauga.

I should like here to give some details of all these towns; but this would lead me too far away from my present purpose, which is to give some account of the old Montgomery settlement.

THE OLD ALABAMA TOWN.

Col. Hawkins, in his *Sketch of the Creek Country,* thus describes the old Alabama town at the present site of Montgomery, as it was at the beginning of the present century:

"E-cun-chate; from *E-cun-na*, 'earth,' and *chate*, 'red.' A small village on the left bank of the Alabama, which has its fields on the right bank in the cane swamp. They are a poor people without stock, are idle and indolent, and seldom make bread enough, but have fine melons in great

[6] For latest researches and collation of authorities as to the early Indians of this region *see* Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile* (1897), a work of great learning and much research.

[7] "On the river, opposite the old town of Coosada, in this county, Weatherford, the Muscogee chief, was born; and at Sauvanoga, on the Tallapoosa, near where the village of Augusta stood, the parents of Tecumseh lived, and there he may have first seen the light."—Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 447.

abundance in their season. The land back from the settlement is of thin quality; oak, hickory, pine, and ponds. Back of this, hills, or waving. Here the soil is of good quality for cultivation; that of thin quality extends for nearly a mile [from the river]."

This is an excellent description of the country extending south of the old town, as I remember it in 1839. Within my earliest recollection the town-site itself was a level, uncultivated field, hard by the bluff of the river. The surface was strewn with the remains of the former Indian occupation. The school boys of Montgomery, for whom it was in those days a famous place of resort, used to call it "old town." There were plenty of doves, larks, and partridges in the old fields, and under the shady bluff good fishing in the river. The two Indian mounds[8] found here in the earliest settlement by the whites had been dug down before my day to make bricks for the old Planters' Hotel in the city. To reach "Old Town," the boys used to go out on what I suppose is now called Bell Street, then known as the Washington Road. At the brow of a small hill, about one mile from Court street, stood the old Bell mansion, long the residence of Bushrod W. Bell, a noted citizen of the town, and Sheriff of Montgomery County in 1840. Turning to the right at the foot of the hill a short walk brought us to the old Alabama town. There are several of the old boys yet living in Montgomery who can tell of those schoolboy excursions to "Old Town," and of our search over the field for arrow points and other relics of the ancient inhabitants. There are James W. Powell, and his brother John, George R. Sayre and Calvin Sayre, Robert H. Sommerville, Dr. John Hazard Henry, B. Leon Wyman, and a few others—alas how few! Of the rest some are scattered here and there in the world; many repose on the hill that Andrew Dexter set apart in the beginning as the last sleeping place for the people. There are excellent reasons for believing that the

FIRST WHITE MEN

who ever saw the woody slopes on which Montgomery is built were the intrepid Spanish adventurers, who followed Hernando

[8] For description of these mounds *see* Blue's *History of Montgomery*, p. 4. The small one was insignificant, and located near the river bluff. The large one, further away and near the public road, was twenty-five feet high and about ninety feet square. They were dug away in 1833. Under them was found human bones, remains of earthenware, arrow heads, and trinkets.

de Soto in his wonderful anabasis. De Soto in his southward journey through this region in 1540 crossed the Tallapoosa at a town called Talise. It can almost be demonstrated that in his march from Talise he crossed the Alabama not far below the mouth of the Cahawba. This conclusion, it is gratifying to note, has been reached in recent years by several scholarly gentlemen in Alabama, who have studied the itinerary of De Soto in the original sources.[9] Hon. Willis Brewer, of Hayneville; Col. R. A. Hardaway, of the University; Maj. J. W. A. Wright, of Livingston, and Mr. Clifford A. Lanier and Edmund P. Morrissette, Esq., of Montgomery, each studying for himself, have reached the conclusion that De Soto crossed the Alabama not far from Cahawba, thus differing from the oldest students of the route, Meek, Pickett, and Theodore Irving, who thought that the crossing place was lower down in Wilcox County.

If the recent conclusion is true, a glance at the map will show any one who bears in mind the fact that the Indian towns were nearly always situated on the banks that De Soto in his march from Talise to the mouth of the Cahawba following the Indian trails from town to town must have passed hard by the old Alabama town at Montgomery. For my part I venture to go farther and to conjecture that the giant chief, Tush-ka-loosa, and his son Aktahache, whom De Soto encountered in this quarter, were the head men of the Alabama town. Why not? The word Tushka-loosa, meaning, "Black Warrior," abides to this day in the language of the Alabamas. The Spaniards must have met the Black Warrior not far from the place where Montgomery now stands. The names of two of the towns traversed by the Adalantado in this region—Ullibahalli and Towassa—have a familiar sound to those who are versed in the ancient lore of this vicinity. The little band of Spaniards sent out from Pensacola Bay, in 1559, twenty years after De Soto's time, by Don Tristan de Luna in search of

[9] For a full collation of the original authorities for De Soto's expedition, the several editions, and critical comments, *see* Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*, under the titles—"Biedma," "Elvas," and "Vega," and also Ternaux-Compans, B. F. French and Barnard Shipp. For secondary accounts, *see* same, under W. Brewer, A. W. Dillard, R. A. Hardaway, C. C. Jones, and Historical Society. *See also* Winsor, vol. ii, pp. 288-292; Pickett, vol. i, pp. 1-53, with the preface; and Meek's *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History* (1857), pp. 213-234.

the Indian town of Coosa passed by the river and town of Ulliballe, or Olaballe.[10]

Towassa, a name venerable for its antiquity, was the appellation of the Alabama town on the bluff three miles below Montgomery.

[10] For this expedition, with authorities, *see* Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. ii, 257-259.

IV. FORTY-FOURTH ALABAMA REGIMENT.

By James Jackson Garrett,[1] of Birmingham.

This regiment was organized at Selma, Ala., in March, 1862. Its field officers were, James Kent, of Dallas, Colonel; Charles A. Derby, of Lowndes, Lt. Col.; William F. Perry, of Macon, Maj.; and T. A. Nicoll, of Dallas, Adjutant. The captains and the counties whence their companies came were: Richard J. Dudley, Lowndes and Dallas; John A. Jones, Bibb; John W. Purifoy, Wilcox; Wm. T. King, Shelby; George W. Carey, Shelby; Henley G. Sneed, Bibb; Thomas C. Daniel, Dallas and Bibb; F. M. Goode, Bibb; A. W. Denman, Randolph; and Patrick P. Riddle, Calhoun.

The regiment was made up chiefly, as will be seen, from Central Alabama; Dallas, Lowndes, Wilcox, Bibb, Shelby, and Calhoun contributing to its formation many of their noblest men. It was not at any time a large regiment, its maximum strength never exceeding a thousand men.

About the middle of June, 1862, it was ordered from the camp of instruction to the front in Virginia, and reached Richmond on the eve of the Seven Days' struggle. It was in the act of re-

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[1] J. J. Garrett, Esq., son of Henry Walton and Sarah *(Sasnette)* Garrett, was born March 14, 1837, in Edgecomb County, N. C., and when one year old his parents came to Ala. They located in Sumter, but later removed to Greene County, where they died. His father was of English ancestry, the son of James and Eliza *(Jones)* Garrett, and the grandson of James and Rachel *(Walton)* Garrett. The Waltons are of Bertie County, N. C. His mother was of French descent, the daughter of Zacharie and Elizabeth *(Wilkins)* Sasnette. The Garrett family lived about five miles from Tarboro, N. C. Mr. Garrett graduated at the University of Alabama in 1856; and was admitted to the bar in 1857. Enlisting as a private in Co. G, 44th Ala. Regt., in May, 1862, he served with this command for fourteen months, when he was assigned to duty in the ordnance department of Longstreet's Corps, and just preceding the surrender of Lee he was made a lieutenant of ordnance. From the close of the war he practiced law in Greensboro, and in 1882 came to Birmingham, where he continues his profession. He was married, 1875, to Celia L., daughter of John W. and Barsha Susan *(Norfleet)* Walton, of Greensboro. For full biographical sketches of Mr. Garrett *see* Teeple and Smith's *Jefferson County* (1887), pp. 353-4; and *Memorial Record of Ala.*, vol. ii, p. 264.

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ceiving its equipment, on Capitol Square, when the first guns at Mechanicsville opened. An hour later, it was moving to its place on the lines, which was in support of field batteries guarding the outer approaches to the City, where it remained, while better armed and more seasoned troops were used in driving McClellan to Harrison's Landing.

As soon as Richmond was relieved, the regiment was quartered with A. R. Wright's Brigade, on Falling Creek, south of the James River, near Drewry's Bluff. There, in about six weeks, its losses from sickness exceeded the heaviest sustained in any of its battles. Many died and more were unfitted for service, among them Col. Kent, who resigned; so that in the following movements it could muster not more than one-third its numbers as effectives.

In all the arduous operations of the campaign ending at Sharpsburg, the regiment did good service, and suffered heavily; at Second Manassas, losing Capts. Daniel and King, and having casualties numbering one-fifth of all engaged; while at Sharpsburg, Col. Derby fell, while two-thirds of those he was gallantly leading were killed or wounded.

After the return from Maryland, the regiment was assigned to Law's Brigade, for a while composed of it, the famous Fourth Alabama, and the Sixth, Fifty-fourth and Fifty-seventh North Carolina Regiments, all distinguished for good conduct on all occasions.

At Fredericksburg, the regiment was under fire, but not actively engaged. One of the younger North Carolina regiments mentioned above, which had been twitted as "conscript" by the older ones, during this battle, was ordered to drive back an opposing skirmish line. It did so, with a rush; but not content with this, inflamed with courage and resolve to prove its equality with the best soldiery, regardless of recalling orders, it threw itself headlong against the heavy masses of Burnside's centre, and had fifty per cent. of its number slain or disabled. Greater courage was never shown, at Balaklava or anywhere else; and it is needless to say, that these men were no more taunted as "conscripts."

Soon after this, the three North Carolina regiments were replaced in the brigade by the Fifteenth, Forty-seventh and Forty-eighth Alabama Regiments, and thenceforward until Appomat-

tox, the brigade was made up of these three, and the Fourth and Forty-fourth. In Longstreet's operations around Suffolk, Va., in 1863, the regiment last-named was conspicuous, and suffered probably more than any other command present.

At Gettysburg, on July 2nd, 1863, in the terrible assault on Round Top,—pronounced by the officer who ordered it, "the best two hours' of fighting ever done on any battle-field,"—made, as far as Law's Brigade was concerned, after a forced march of twenty-five miles, under burning July sun, without supplies of food or water, the Forty-fourth drove the enemy from a battery in its immediate front, planted upon an almost inaccessible point on that mountain, and aided by other regiments, held it against all efforts of recapture. The guns of this battery are said to have been all, out of nearly a hundred they there captured, that were brought off from that field by the Confederates. In the charge on that day, the Forty-fourth penetrated the wild fastness known as the Devil's Den, and there lost heavily, nearly forty per cent. of its number having fallen in the movement.

Returning to Virginia, the Regiment rested a few weeks in Spottsylvania, and with the rest of Hood's Division was ordered thence to Georgia. At Chickamauga, it contributed its full share to the victory, which for a time saved that State from being overrun, at a cost of one-fourth its numbers. It was the good fortune of Hood's Division to capture more than one-half the cannon taken on that field, and one-half of this was the prize of Law's Brigade.

The campaigns which followed, in front of Chattanooga, in Lookout Valley, Longstreet's advance on Knoxville and siege of that place, and the movements in East Tennessee following thereafter, in 1863-4, were probably the hardest of the war, in fatigues, privations and sufferings as well as full of dangers and losses. Through all these the Forty-fourth passed, with the patience and courage of veterans and patriots; proving themselves worthy of association with their comrades, and the equals of the best soldiers who ever marched under any standard.

Early in 1864, it was recognized by all that the great struggle of that year was to be in Virginia. All Hood's (then become Field's) Division, except Law's Brigade, had been ordered and sent back to Lee. Law's Brigade, it was proposed to retain in East Tennessee, in Buckner's Division. This transfer excited

great discontent, and almost symptoms of mutiny. Entreaties, petitions, and remonstrances poured into Richmond, until the transfer was revoked. When the order came to rejoin their old comrades in the Division from Texas, Arkansas, Georgia and South Carolina, these grim warriors rejoiced as if invited to a feast, although fully conscious of the toils and perils they had begged to be allowed to confront; and many of them doubtless remember the gladness of the reunion on the western verge of the Wilderness.

Into that wild region, through which Grant was trying to push, about the 3rd of May, 1864, the Forty-fourth Regiment plunged, with the rest of Lee's army. It was in the rushing, irresistible advance, on the 6th of May, that beat and drove back the immense numbers about to swallow up Hill's Corps; it was on the hardly contested lines at Spottsylvania beaten back, from which Grant attempted a second time to steal around our right; at North Anna; and at Cold Harbor, on June 3rd, with the rest of Law's Brigade, which has never been duly credited, bore and beat back the heaviest assaults made, and inflicted far the severest loss suffered by the enemy on that bloody day.

During the earlier stages of the investment of Petersburg, which began in June, 1864, the regiment, with the rest of Field's Division, was for awhile in the trenches, and then formed and used as a movable column, which passed from one position to another, as Grant's flanking attempts made necessary; and it was in this way thrown by forced marches several times from one extreme of the army to the other to meet emergencies sometimes of an appalling character. Later, events located it on the north side of James River, near Deep Bottom, and this position it held in defiance of all assaults, until the close of the war. During this last period was fought, about October, 1864, one of the fiercest battles of the war, sometimes called after Fussell's Mill; in which, a few skeleton regiments, under the eye of Gen. Lee, attacked and routed an immense force which had surprised and broken through the lines at a point far to their left, and besides the enemy's dead and wounded, captured and held many more prisoners than our entire force engaged. So completely was this attempt defeated, that no others in heavy force were ever made in that quarter.

During the winter of 1864-5 Col. Wm. F. Perry, who had gone

out as Major of the Regiment, and as its Colonel, had been for some time ranking officer and in command of Law's Brigade with much distinction, was promoted to Brigadier, and kept in charge of it. This made John A. Jones Colonel, George W. Carey Lieutenant Colonel, and A. W. Denman Major of the Regiment.

The breaking of the lines at Petersburg on April 2nd, 1865, rendered Richmond untenable; and those held by Field's Division below that City, which never had been broken, were abandoned, and that Division, including Perry's Brigade, and the 44th Alabama Regiment, crossed the James for the last time, and rejoined those who had evacuated Petersburg, between that point and Appomatox. The regiments of that magnificent body of men had literally fought themselves away, and some were then no larger than single companies; yet their organization and morale could not have been better. Despite the attrition of its almost unequalled fighting, service and suffering, it was the largest division that stacked arms and furled its colors finally at the obscure Virginia hamlet, only when its matchless Commander said that all had been done that honor and duty could require. Neither that division nor any of its brigades or regiments, had ever been driven from any position or field, nor failed to carry and hold any they had been ordered to take, or to dare and do otherwise, when the achievement was within the compass of human energy and heroism; and the gloom in which the sovereignty they had upheld and their own organizations vanished on the 9th of April, 1865, did not shade, but brightened the wreath of untarnished glories with which Southern valor had crowned its battle-riven standards.[2]

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[2] Of the survivors are Gen. W. F. Perry, Bowling Green, Ky., (*see* paper by him in this vol. on "Genesis of Public Education in Alabama"); Lt. Col. G. W. Carey, of New York City; and the writer of this paper.

A short account of the Regiment is in Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 654-656. A valuable contemporary sketch is contained in a letter from Mr. Garrett, the present writer, published in the *Selma Reporter*, March 23, 1864. With the letter was published a set of highly patriotic resolutions adopted at a meeting of the command held March 13, 1864. The muster rolls of the several companies, complete with historical memoranda from organization to surrender, are on file in the office of the Adjutant-General of Ala.—*Report* of Adjutant-General 1892-94, p. 219.

V. EARLY ROADS OF ALABAMA.

By Peter Joseph Hamilton,[1] of Mobile.

A road in Alabama is such a prosaic thing, especially when dissociated from a fast team, that the subject seems to promise little. And yet, if we can realize that our country has had a great history, we shall find its beginnings of interest, and, next to the character of the people, the early highways the most important element of its growth.

Roads made Roman history, and with the development of roads everywhere comes the evolution of a country. A wagon road in the settlement of Alabama counted for more than a nickle plate railway does at the present time, because the railway is simply an improvement while the wagon road was the essential beginning.

And there were routes earlier still. We are gradually recognizing the aborigines as human beings and their customs and speech as worthy of study. The Choctaws, Creeks, Cherokees and Chickasaws had some well defined trails, and the competing French and English colonists had trade routes to reach them, besides highways of their own in the white settlements too.

Thus there are four divisions to what may after all prove mat-

[1]P. J. Hamilton, son of Peter and Anna Martha *(Beers)* Hamilton, was born in Mobile, Ala., March 19, 1859. His father, an eminent lawyer, was in the General Assembly of Ala., 1848; acting U. S. Dist. Att'y., 1851-52; and a State Senator during the troublous year of 1872. His mother was a daughter of Jonathan S. and Cornelia *(Walker)* Beers, of Ga. On the Walker side the connections were with George Walton (Georgia signer of the Declaration of Independence), also Jonathan Edwards, Fennimore Cooper and Edmund Burke. His grandfather, William T. Hamilton, son of Peter Hamilton, of Scotch descent, came to Charleston shortly after the War of 1812. He married Charlotte Cartledge, of Leeds, England. P. J. Hamilton graduated at Princeton, fifth in the large and famous class of 1879, and took the Mental Science Fellowship, a very high honor. He spent 1880 at Leipsig University; and, 1881-2, attended the law schools of the Univ. of Va., and the Univ. of Ala. He began law in 1882; and later succeeded to the business of "The Hamiltons." He is now in the active practice. However, he has done much literary work. In 1893, after a second trip to Europe, he published *Rambles in Historic Lands* (Put-

ter of some importance. For there are Indian trails, trade routes, colonial ways, and pioneer roads.

I. INDIAN TRAILS.

Originally the Indians used trails only for war, hunting or fishing purposes, and it was only after the white man came with his wares that trade routes were necessary. When Iberville explored the lower rivers of our basin he found among the Mobilians good "roads," but they were really trails, long since obliterated, and those of the interior are now even less traceable. And yet the immense clam shell mounds in the Mobile delta marshes and the oyster shell banks on the bay and Gulf, point to a time when great tribes regularly visited the mouth of our river system, and that for many years. True, this may have been largely by water, but early narratives show land routes also. It has been conjectured that DeSoto, Narvaez and other explorers used the native trails, and this was very likely so, for they had native guides. And in it is a thought of some novelty that Cosa, Chiaha, Maubila, Nanipacna, Talisee, Coweta, and other places in or near our Alabama were Indian towns of some size and importance, connected by regular trails and roads, and at least in DeSoto's time under one general government. Aboriginal history is worth more study than has been given it in Alabama, and the example of Dr. Wm. S. Wyman should convince us of its value and interest.

But such study has not progressed far enough to let us restore these routes in detail. We know that the Upper Creeks on the

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nam's Sons). In 1897, while City Attorney of Mobile, he prepared a *Code of Ordinances* of the city (8vo, pp. 456), which contains valuable historical data. He makes a special study of the local history and institutions of his part of the South and has written on it for a number of newspapers and magazines. But his principal work is *Colonial Mobile: An historical study of the northern Gulf coast and the Alabama Tombigbee basin, from the discovery of Mobile Bay in 1519 until 1821* (Houghton, Mifflin and Co., 1897, 8vo, pp. 446). It is conceded to be a book of the first rank. On June 30, 1891, he married Rachel W., only daughter of Dr. James Ralston and Sarah V. (*Wheeler*) Burgett, the former being pastor of the Government Street Presbyterian Church of Mobile, but originally from Mansfield, O. Her father was Daniel Wheeler, ship agent and cotton merchant of Mobile. A most excellent biographical sketch of Peter Hamilton, the father, portraying his career as a lawyer, is in *Memorial Record of Ala.*, vol. ii, pp. 540-545. Bibliographies of Peter, Thomas A., William T., and Peter Joseph Hamilton are in Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*, pp. 962-967.

Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers were connected by one or more trails with the Lower Creeks on the Chattahoochee, and that the villages in each division were so joined. We may be sure that the same was true of the Chickasaws in our Mississippi and Tennessee, of the Choctaw towns in south Mississippi, and of the Cherokees in the mountain region common to Georgia, Tennessee, and the Carolinas. But the exact routes could not now be given, for the very towns they joined were not always permanent. A more important question is, cannot we ascertain the main routes which connected the different tribes with each other?

This is somewhat conjectural, but, by calling Schoolcraft, Adair, Gatschet, and old maps to our aid, we may at least attain to probability. The Chickasaws and Choctaws were generally hostile and no regular roads need be expected between them. The Cherokees were not sufficiently identified with the Gulf history to leave much trace in our section. But the Choctaws seem to have had a path which crossed the Bigbee at or near McGrew's Shoals, ran thence along the Alabama, and about Cahaba across the river to the Upper Creeks, while the Creeks themselves had quite a system of roads.

Roughly, we may say the Creeks extended from somewhat east of the Tombigbee eastwardly to the Ocmulgee or Oconee. So we might expect that there would be a trail from the east Georgia region northwestwardly to the Cherokees, another towards the famous town of Cosa, or Coosa, commanding the upper Coosa River, "an old beloved town" or city of refuge, and a third westwardly to Coweta on the Chattahooche and the capital Tookabatcha on the Tallapoosa. The trails we would expect to concentrate in what is now east Georgia and pass eastwardly to the Atlantic coast tribes. The lower Creeks again might be expected to have a route of their own to St. Mary's River and the coast.

And these seem to have been the actual routes. The first was called the High Town Path,[2] and started from High Shoals on a branch of the Oconee, crossing the Chattahooche at Shallow Ford north of the present city of Atlanta, whence it went to High Town or Etowah, Turkey Town, and the other villages nearest the Cherokees, continuing ultimately to the

[2] Misspelled "High Tower" in Gatschet's *Creek Migration Legend*, p. 151.

Chickasaws. The second, or upper trail, crossed the same river considerably further down. The third, or southern trail, came from Rock Landing on the Oconee, (below our Milledgeville), and proceeded westwardly, crossing the Chattahoochee in canoes about Cusseta and Coweta, (below Columbus). After reaching Tookabatcha, it turned north on the west side of the Coosa River to Coosa Town. On or near this route were subsequently established Ft. Hawkins, Macon and the Flint River Creek agency in Georgia, and it was varied afterwards on the Alabama side to connect both with the British at Okfuskee and the French at Ft. Toulouse, below our Wetumpka. The fourth route (that from the Lower Creeks) fell into disuse as the whites appropriated the Atlantic coast of Georgia.

The Creek trails to the southwest were less numerous, but we know there was one south of the Alabama River, which, as above noted, branched across that river to the west to reach the Choctaws, while another branch continued southwestwardly towards the Mobile and Pensacola country, pursuing ridge routes where possible.

2. TRADE ROUTES.

Some of these trails became trade routes after the French and Spanish settled the Gulf Coast and the English the Atlantic region; but these had different objects and often different termini. Coosa, for instance, yielded to Tookabatcha in the time of the traders, and the roads varied accordingly. But in a general way we may be sure the routes were much the same, for Indians are conservative and geographical reasons would generally call for valley routes in the mountain country and ridge roads in the low lands. The Atlantic colonies, except southern Georgia, were cut off from the Mississippi Valley by the Alleghany Mountains, and the trade route from them was necessarily long and toilsome. From Richmond, for example, one went west over the mountains to the sources of the Cumberland, and thence down that stream to near the Chickasaws. A later and better route from the Carolinas was by land through the Upper Creeks. "The great trading path" to the Creeks began at Fort Moore, (Augusta, Georgia,) a great English centre, passed the Chattahoochee at Coweta, the Tallapoosa at Fort Okfuskee, and the Coosa River at Coosa Town, whence it went across rugged country to the

Chickasaws at the sources of the Tombigbee.[3] This was but a variation of the Lower Trail, and the course of an alleged expedition of 1698, when Col. Welch claimed to have reached the Mississippi River. It became the usual trade route to the west and by its means Adair long held the Chickasaws to the British side, and even fomented civil war among the French-loving Choctaws. Fort Okfuskee, in our Tallapoosa County, was meant to counteract French influence about the union of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, where in 1714 Fort Toulouse had been erected at the request of the Alibamons. This "well-officered" French outpost was controlled from Mobile, once the capital of the French half of the continent, and even later the head of the Alabama—Tombigbee department.

French trade from Mobile was principally by the river, but there was a land route to Fort Toulouse, which doubtless joined the one from Pensacola, running through thick forests south of the Alabama to the same place, and in Bartram's time the great trading path for West Florida. This was at a distance from the river and to some extent a ridge road. On it was Dead Man's Creek, so named from the corpse of a white man found murdered. West of the Tombigbee and Mobile Rivers the three divisions of the Choctaws lived and traded largely to Mobile by a good road running not far from the river until about the St. Stephens region. Thence it went westwardly *via* the village Youane (near modern Shubuta) through the Nation to the Mississippi. In English times a lower branch ran almost directly from Mobile to Youane, and the neighboring village of Chickasahay.

Of course we must not think of these routes as altogether fixed, and certainly not as much "worked." They were blazed bridle paths, going around a swamp rather than making a causeway, crossing creeks by fallen logs, called raccoon bridges, or by rough rafts made on the spot, and swimming and fording rivers rather than ferrying or bridging them. Bartram in 1778 found no real "highways" between the Ocmulgee and Mobile, but that from Mobile to the Choctaws became permanent enough to be the boundary of three American counties.[4] In 1809 Wayne

[3] Winsor's *Mississippi Basin*, p. 47. Adair, *American Indians*, p. 297, says *Towanne* means "corn worm." See Bartram's *Travels*, p. 374.

[4] Toulmin's *Digest of Alabama* (1823), pp. 81-2; Bartram's *Travels*, pp. 519, 346, 374.

was created west of it, between the Choctaw boundary and the Spanish line of 31°, and Baldwin was constituted out of so much of Washington County as lay east of the trading road and south of the fifth township line. The road left Mobile at a ford on Bayou Chateaugue, (or Three Mile Creek,) which was apparently called the Portage, long known as near the northwest corner of the American city, and its course in the present limits was somewhat that of Spring Hill Avenue.

Portage, by the way, is a common word in French America for "carrying place," where a canoe is carried on land over a divide between waters courses, or around an obstruction in one and the same navigable stream. The divide portages led the way to much of the modern canal system of the country. I have not found any other instance of its meaning ford, although there are several Portage rivers in the North West. It may possibly point to a time, before the forests were felled, when the creek was larger and thus navigable higher up; and Spanish grants facing on this stream a mile or two beyond the reed-covered Portage tend to show that even at the beginning of this century it had a greater importance than now. But I do not know of any large body of Indians living near its source, or of any special industries to attract traders there, and fancy the traffic across the creek was always of more importance than the portage around the shallow ford. In fact the portage system cut less figure in our section than where the head waters of the Mississippi River interlock with these of the great lakes, less even than between the bayous of the lower Mississippi. There was one at Pascagoula, and another used by Spanish traders from Mobile, over the three miles separating the source of the Tombigbee from a tributary of the Tennessee.[5] But the country was rougher and the trade less than in the other quarters.

The English were in possesion of west Florida from 1763 to 1780, but, as Forts Tombecbe and Toulouse were now within their territory, these outposts were useless and soon even abandoned, and promiscuous trading was licensed. Adair complains much of this and of Mobile, too.

The British now had things pretty much their own way, but that nation of traders filled the woods with competing merchants. George Galphin had his headquarters at Silver Bluff, S. C., below

[5] Winsor's *Westward Movement*, p. 522.

Augusta, and Lachlan McGillivray was influential from his home on the Coosa, six miles above the rusty cannon and crumbling bastions marking the site of Fort Toulouse.[6] McGillivray & Swanson at Mobile controlled the Indian commerce west of the Mississippi River, and James Adair divided his time between trade with the Chickasaws, criticising the government, and writing his book designed to prove that the Indians were the lost tribes of Israel. His view was that they were bound to fight, and so it was a mistake to bring about peace between them, as the result was that they then united in fighting the whites. He says McGillivray shared this opinion and regretted taking part in reconciling the Cherokees and Creeks. In 1765 while Adair was among the Chickasaws the Chockaws planned killing the traders. Indian traders had not been safe before this, however, for he tells of the massacre by Great Mortar and his friends in 1760 of a surly English trader on the upper Coosa, and then of others at Okchai and elsewhere. The chief trader of Apalachucla some years later showed Bartram the place where fifty years before his time some eighteen or twenty traders had been massacred, and Bartram himself was witness of the rough treatment of the trader at Mucclasse when caught on too intimate terms with a squaw.

The traders generally went in companies of fifteen to twenty men, with perhaps seventy to eighty pack and other horses. The horses were permitted to graze at night and the start in the morning was after the sun was high. The loaded animals fell into single file, and were urged on with whip and whoop at a lively pace.[7]

3. COLONIAL ROADS.

The French made few roads, except within their own settlements. To reach the Indians they used the rivers and the old Indian trails.

Of the British one would expect something different, for their policy was extinguishment of the native title and gradual colonization by the whites. They were in as undisturbed possession of Florida as of Virginia, but they were too few and scattered

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[6] Bartram's *Travels*, p. 313; John Pope's *Tour*, p. 46.

[7] Adair's *American Indians*, pp. 13, 261, 279, 164, 290; Bartram's *Travels*, pp. 446, 438, 456, 388, and *note*.

to accomplish much in the ten or twelve years before the revolt of the northern colonies, and little or nothing could be attempted afterwards, although Florida remained loyal.

A military way was projected from Mobile to Natchez, which would have been of value in the control of the West by the Mississippi River, and in preventing the dispatch of supplies by the Spaniards to the Kentuckians and other rebels; but nothing actually came of it. The only road certainly opened was one from Mobile to Pensacola, the capital, at the instance and largely at the expense of the Mobile merchants. The object was to receive sooner their English mail and freight.[8] This was by ferry over the Bay to the Village near Bay Minette, and thence by land to Pensacola with a short ferry over the upper Perdido River. The government assisted in maintaining this route. It would be interesting to know more of this post road and of the postal connections with Europe; but little is available. We do know that English traders were everywhere, and Bartram mentions meeting emigrants for the banks of the lower Alabama.[9]

Spain held the country from 1780 to 1813, but after the outbreak of the French Revolution she was able to do little for her colony in the way of trade, mails, or immigration. West Florida actually retrograded, and that in the face of the growing American Republic to the north. And yet in respect to the Indian trade, the Spanish house of Panton, Leslie & Co., (later John Forbes & Co.), of Pensacola and Mobile, marked a step in advance. They had traders on pack horses out as far as the Cherokees, and it required the foot of Government St., with wharf and canal, the site of the Custom House and Bank of Mobile, with St. Francis St., as an approach to the river, and the whole square behind, for Innerarity to transact all their Mobile business.[10]

This meant the use of rivers and roads alike to carry their wares. Therefore, the Creek treaty with the Americans and later the running of the demarcation line in 1799 injured this house greatly, for it curtailed, although it did not extinguish, their influence above 31°, that is, on all the upper rivers, where the Choctaws and Chickasaws lived, and of course admitted the rivalry of American traders. John Pope in 1790 found the Creeks

[8] Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile*, p. 245.
[9] Bartram's *Travels*, p. 313.
[10] *Colonial Mobile*, p. 336.

trading almost exclusively to the flourishing city of Augusta.[11] Even St. Stephens was found to be on the American side, and settlers from the States followed the troops down to the new port of entry at Fort Stoddert, on the Mobile River, just above the line.

4. AMERICAN HIGHWAYS.

In course of time various roads connected the Atlantic States with the country west of the Alleghanies, and are to be thought of as superseding or at least supplementing the river routes. The National Road from Cumberland, Maryland, west across the Panhandle, extending ultimately through Ohio to Indiana, was perhaps the typical one at the north, dating in some sense from Braddock's expedition; and answering to it south of the Ohio was the Wilderness Road from Virginia, opened by Daniel Boone on the general line of the old trade route, through the Cumberland Gap of the Alleghanies to what became Danville, in Kentucky. Other routes connected the Watauga Settlement on the Holston River with its daughter Tennessee, and Tennessee with the Carolinas and Georgia. But Natchez and St. Stephens, making up the best part of Mississippi Territory, long remained isolated advance guards of civilization. Natchez communicated with the world by the Mississippi River, but the Tombigbee settlement was separated by the Choctaws from the Mississippi, by the Creeks from Georgia, by the Cherokees and their mountains from Tennessee, and by the Spaniards from the Gulf.

The United States made peace with these Southern Indians at the close of the Revolution, defining their boundaries, and in 1801 Brigadier General James Wilkinson, Benjamin Hawkins, of North Carolina, and Andrew Pickens, of South Carolina, as United States commissioners, concluded further treaties with the Chickasaws and Choctaws providing for a wagon road from the Nashville country to the Natchez district, crossing the Tennessee River at Muscle Shoals. This also was the line of an old trail.

The first article was as follows:[12]

"I. The Mingco, principal men and warriors of the Chickasaw nation of Indians, give leave and permission to the President of the United States of America, to lay out, open and make a convenient waggon road through

[11] John Pope's *Tour*, p. 71.

[12] 7 U. S. *Statutes at Large*, pp. 65, 66.

their land between the settlements of Mero District in the state of Tennessee, and those of Natchez in the Mississippi Territory, in such way and manner as he may deem proper; and the same shall be a highway for the citizens of the United States, and the Chickasaws. The Chickasaws shall appoint two discreet men to serve as assistants, guides or pilots, during the time of laying out and opening the road, under the direction of the officer charged with that duty, who shall have a reasonable compensation for their services: Provided always, that the necessary ferries over the water courses crossed by the said road shall be held and deemed to be the property of the Chickasaw nation."

That was signed at the Chickasaw Bluffs, (now Memphis,) October 24th, and December 17th came this corresponding Choctaw agreement[12] at Fort Adams:

"Article II. The Mingos, principal men and warriors of the Chactaw nation of Indians, do hereby give their free consent, that a convenient and durable waggon way may be explored, marked, opened and made under the orders and instructions of the President of the United States, through their lands, to commence at the northern extremity of the settlements of the Mississippi Territory, and to be extended from thence, by such route as may be selected and surveyed under the authority of the President of the United States, until it shall strike the lands claimed by the Chickasaw nation; and the same shall be and continue for ever, a highway for the citizens of the United States and the Chactaws; and the said Chactaws shall nominate two discreet men from their nation, who may be employed as assistants, guides or pilots, during the time of laying out and opening the said highway, or so long as may be deemed expedient, under the direction of the officer charged with this duty, who shall receive a reasonable compensation for their services."

The road was duly laid out and its importance to the Southwest, and especially to Mississippi, can hardly be overestimated. It brought a population and civilization which not only filled up the old bounds but gradually overflowed them, and finally led to the removal of the Southern Indians west of the great river.

On this road was Doak's Stand, famous in treaty annals, on it also the cultivated Silas Dinsmore as agent long cared for Choctaw interests, once defying Andrew Jackson; and at the Muscle Shoals ferry lived the Chickasaw Colberts, for whom a county has been named. South of the Tennessee it was in general a ridge road between the Big Black River and the rivers flowing to the Gulf.

But what about the isolated setlements on the Tombigbee? If immigrants should wish to travel by land from Columbus, Georgia, to Mobile River in those days before railroads and towns, they would pursue a different route. They would naturally go west to a point shortly below the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa Rivers, so as to keep in touch with the country drained by these, and thence southwest, following the water shed

between the streams flowing into the Alabama and those emptying into the Gulf. And if one should take up a good map of our State, like Dr. E. A. Smith's, and run a finger along this route, he will find on or near it Fort Mitchell, Fort Bainbridge, Fort Hull, Mount Meigs, Fort Deposit, Burnt Corn, and Fort Montgomery.

He would in a manner be pursuing the old Federal Road, opened by the United States authorities from the Ocmulgee River in Georgia to Mims' Ferry for St. Stephens in Mississippi Territory, along the route of the southern and southwestern Creek trails. This was done under article II of the convention at Washington of November 14, 1805, made by Henry Dearborn, Secretary of War, as United States commissioner, with William McIntosh and other chiefs. It reads thus:[13]

"It is hereby stipulated and agreed, on the part of the Creek nation, that the government of the United States shall forever hereafter have a right to a horse path, through the Creek Country, from the Ocmulgee to the Mobile, in such direction as shall, by the President of the United States, be considered most convenient, and to clear out the same, and lay logs over the creeks: And the citizens of said States, shall at all times have a right to pass peaceably on said path, under such regulations and restrictions, as the government of the United States shall from time to time direct; and the Creek chiefs will have boats kept at the several rivers for the conveyance of men and horses, and houses of entertainment established at suitable places on said path for the accommodation of travellers; and the respective ferriages and prices of entertainment for men and horses, shall be regulated by the present agent, Col. Hawkins, or by his successor in office, or as is usual among white people."

Two years later Harry Toulmin, James Caller and Lemuel Henry as territorial commissioners extended it westwardly from St. Stephens to the capital at Natchez, opening also a ferry across the Alabama above Little River and across the Tombigbee above Ft. St. Stephens. There was an older and more used ferry at Nannahubba Island lower down, dating from 1797.[14] A road across ran from Mims' Ferry on the Alabama River to Hollinger's over the Tombigbee, but it was one continuous ferry at high water. Coffee's army is said to have used this lower route in marching from west of the Bigbee to Benton's new fort at Montgomery Hill on the way to Jackson's capture of Pensacola.

Causeways were laid over "boggy guts and branches" of the new roads and its alternate name of "Three Chopped Way" came

[13] 7 U. S. *Statutes at Large*, p. 96, *et seq.*

[14] Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 179; Ball's *Clarke County*, p. 766.

from the triple blaze marking it from Natchez to Georgia. While it was a bridle path, it was used principally for horsemen and packhorses, but one of the oddest vehicles brought by immigrants was the rolling hogshead.[15] Goods were packed in a hogshead, trunions or the equivalent put in the ends, and to them were attached shafts. We may suppose horses were generally hitched to this novel affair, but in one instance at least it was an ox, and in this manner the Coates family in 1800 and others later moved to Clarke and other Southern counties. By 1812 Josiah Blakeley writes[16] that it had become a wagon road and also ran to Baton Rogue, although even as late as 1817 the Greggs had to widen the way at some places for their wagons.[17]

It was done, therefore, by permission of the Creeks, but so well did Sam Dale and others guide the immigrants that this road contributed greatly to increase the Bigbee population and arouse Indian jealousy. The actual and inevitable results were the capture of Mobile from the Spaniards, so as to open the way to the Gulf, and the great Creek War, which cut off the Indians from the River basin and from the Federal Road as well. This rough highway, at first not more than a blazed path, played for Alabama the part which the stone Via Appia did for the country south of Rome. But for the Federal Road, with its forts, there had been no Alabama as we know it. The road itself can now be traced only with difficulty, but it is the east boundary of Monroe County, and the original north line of Mobile County seems to have been the Fort Stoddert-Baton Rouge extension.

There were other highways in course of time, such as Jackson's military road, cut southwardly from the Tennessee River, which was serviceable in subjugating the Creeks, and the "great Tennessee road" to Jones' Valley,[18] and another cut via the High Town trail and Attalla from the east. There were others in South-East Alabama in the first Seminole War, and the different Indians cessions also necessitated corresponding highways. But these were chiefly developments, and not of the same creative importance as the Federal and Natchez routes.

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[15] Ball's *Clarke County*, p. 370, 317.

[16] *Colonial Mobile*, p. 355.

[17] Ball's *Clarke County*, p. 390.

[18] Powell's *History of Blount County* in *Transactions* Ala. Hist. Soc., 1855, p. 39.

As in Italy all great architecture is ascribed to Michael Angelo, so in our Southern States all mounds and fortifications are attributed to DeSoto, and all roads to Andrew Jackson. The general has even been credited with cutting a highway through Clarke County for his army, another through Choctaw County, and even the "Three Chopped Way," when in point of fact he descended the Alabama River in boats. However, worse eponyms could *be chosen than DeSoto and Jackson.*

An instance of the difference between travelling before and after the Federal Road was cut may be found in the life of the eccentric but earnest Methodist preacher Lorenzo Dow. In 1803 he was in Georgia and set out for Tombigbee, by way of the agency of Hawkins, who "treated them cool." In thirteen and a half days after leaving the Georgia settlements they reached the first house in the Tensaw district. His only notice of the "road or rather Indian path" was that they lost it once and that it took a good woodsman to find it again. He preached at Tensaw on a Sunday, and kept also a string of appointments across the swamp and the rivers. This was at a thick settlement, which must have been about McIntosh Bluff, and a scattered one above, seventy miles long. It then took him six and a half days to reach the Natchez settlement. At the end of December, 1804, he returned, but the only road he mentions is the trading road from the Chickasaws to Mobile, near Dinsmore's agency and Fort St. Stephen. At St. Stephens he found but one family. He seems to have tarried six days in the Tensaw settlement, holding meeting, and in early January traveled on to Georgia. In the Creek nation there were so many by-paths as to make it difficult to find their way. Charges for entertainment were high. On the first trip near Tensaw he paid $1.50 for a night's lodging, and now at Hawkins' eleven shillings, although not worth the half.

Later Peggy Dow recounts a similar trip east by way of the Bigbee settlement in December, but does not give the year. It was Lorenzo's tenth passage, however, to and from Natchez. There seems to have been an Indian path, crossing a slough called a Hell Hole, and they went over a river by night. They staid two or three days in the St. Stephens neighborhood, preaching, and she notes the Tombigbee there as beautiful, with water clear as crystal. St. Stephens was small but made a handsome ap-

pearance. They crossed by a ferry and in a day and a half passed over the Alabama, too, a beautiful river, "almost beyond description." This was probably at or near what is now Claiborne. They then struck the road cut by order of the president from Georgia to Fort Stoddard. They frequently met people on it removing to the Tombigbee and other parts of Mississippi Territory. One such family lost an aged father at Manack's, and he was buried in a rough box of split stuff. On the first day in the Creek country, says Peggy, "We travelled between thirty and forty miles and came to a creek, called Murder creek; it got its name in consequence of a man having been murdered there. This circumstance made it very gloomy to me. But we made the necessary preparations for the night, and lay down to rest; although I was so much afraid, I got so weary at times, that I could not help sleeping. About 12 o'clock it began to rain so fast, that it like to put out our fire, and we were under the necessity of getting our horses and starting, as we had nothing to screen us from the rain. The road having been newly cut out, the fresh marked trees served for a guide—there was a moon, but it was shut in by clouds. However, we travelled on ten or twelve miles and it ceased raining; I was very wet and cold, and felt the need of a fire, more perhaps than I had ever done in my life before.

"At last we came in sight of a camp, which would have made my heart felt glad, but I feared lest it was Indians; yet to my great satisfaction, when we came to it we found an old man and boy, with what little they possessed, going to the country that we had left behind, and had encamped in this place, and with their blankets had made a comfortable tent, and had a good fire. This was refreshing to us, as we were much fatigued. We made some coffee, and dried our clothes a little, by this time it was day light, we then started on our way again."

On the way they "got a good supply of bread, such as it was," and three days after leaving Manack's reached the Catahoochy, where they had to hire an Indian to get a canoe, and take their baggage and swim their horses over. She says, "I had got a fall from my horse and hurt myself considerably; and I was as much fatigued and worn out by travelling as ever I was in my life. I thought sometimes that I should never stand it to get through the wilderness, but Providence gave me

strength of body beyond what I could have expected. We left the Indian's camp in the morning, and reached Colonel Hawkins' that night.

"This was within about thirty miles of the settlement of Georgia. I felt grateful to the God of all grace, for his tender care over us, while in this dreary part of the land, where our ears had been saluted by the hideous yells of the wolf—and had been surrounded by the savages more wild and fierce than they; and yet we were preserved from all danger, and brought through in safety.

"We got to the river that divides the state of Georgia from the Indian boundaries, about three or four o'clock, and got into the white settlements, which was very satisfactory to me. We got to a friend's house that night about dark, where we were received kindly. This was like a cordial to my heart, as it had been a long time since I had met with a friend."

So that, while it was better than before the road was cut, travelling was anything but pleasant even on the Federal Road.

The troubles of immigrants on these routes can well be pictured from the journal[19] of Rev. John Owen, describing the removal of his family in 1818 by wagon from near Norfolk, Virginia, to Tuscaloosa, Alabama. The roads in old settled Virginia he declares bad enough, but, after he passed through Beauford's Gap of the Alleghanies and descended the Holston Valley via Knoxville, sickness, upsets, breakages and discouragements were their daily experience. Even before he reached East Tennessee he wished that he had not been born. Between "infernal roads" and straying horses, he declared "the Devil turned loose" in good earnest. He seems then to have gone down the Sequatchee Valley to the Tennessee River. Exactly where he crossed into the Alabama Territory in the Cherokee boundaries does not appear, and the only definite point named in the eight days between there and his destination, is Jones' Valley, near modern Birmingham. Possibly he crossed at Nickajack and from the Georgia road went down Wills' Valley, along the route of the present Alabama Great Southern Railroad.

In Alabama he found the smiths lazy, meal scarce, corn and

[19] This valuable record has been lately published by Thomas M. Owen in the *Publications* of the Southern History Association, April, 1897, vol. i, p. 89.

fodder high, and people rough and "shuffling," but he does make one of his few entries of "roads good," and he does not mention as many accidents at this end of his route as before crossing our line. May be he had become used to them. The day after Christmas he makes the entry, "past broken roads and got to Tuscaloosa and feel thankful to kind Heaven that after nine weeks' traveling and exposed to every danger that we arrived safe and in good health."

It would be a mistake, however, to think of these early roads as used only by the military and by immigrants. The general government employed them for post routes also. The early Mobile newspapers, and the corporation minutes before them, have a good deal to say about the mails. Human nature being much the same then as now, we are not surprised to learn that it was often in the way of complaint. In February, 1816, the town commissioners addressed an official "monstrance" to Postmaster General R. J. Meigs, stating, that, despite good roads and weather, the failures of the contractor of the Georgia (Federal Road) route were beyond all precedent, and that merchants had to make private arrangements for communication with Fort Stoddert and St. Stephens, as there had been but two mails received thence since the first of the year.

But with Owen's journey to Tuscaloosa and Lewis Judson's complaints about the southern mails we are reaching modern times. Mississippi laws were already providing for our familiar dirt roads. Alabama Territory and the new State of Alabama adopted the system of the parent territory,—and, I regret to say, the same general system is in vogue to-day.[20]

Such in barest outline is the history of Alabama roads. Justin Winsor in three admirable volumes has shown how physical geography, especially through mountains and rivers, has influenced the settlement and growth of all America. But the subject of Indian and white highways has not been thoroughly developed, and it offers valuable matter for treatment. To a large extent, as we have seen, it is after all one story. The aboriginal trails were the paths of white explorers, from Spanish discoverers and French *courcurs de bois* to the American pioneers

[20] *Statutes Miss. Territory* (digested 1816), pp. 291-307; *Code Ala.*, 1896, §§ 2443-2519.

like Boone and Dale, and, between these extremes, competing British and French merchants carried their wares over the same routes to reach the native tribes. The colonial governments in building roads followed some of the trails, and the later American military and territorial authorities with their more important highways kept the same general course. Even our railroads sometimes pursue them, because they offer the least natural obstacles, although the growth of cities has made railways sometimes seek directions unknown to earlier roads. But as the trails, trade routes and early roads sought the ridges, the directions of all are analogous and sometimes identical, and they constitute but one historical development.

On these same ancient routes, only more or less improved to suit the varying times, were held Indian councils and by them native wars were waged, along them passed the wondering chivalry of Europe, exploring new countries and peoples, and later the caravans and traders of the English and French, crossing each other's steps in commercial rivalry. The daring of hunters and pioneer explorers baptized these ways in blood and enriched them with romance, while the toilsome journeys of our immigrant fathers, moving families and belongings to a southern clime, in search of happier homes and fortunes, should make them sacred to remotest generations. When these successive scenes rise before us, we realize that a Fennimore Cooper is needed to picture them, and a John Richard Green to tell in full the interesting story of the Early Roads of Alabama.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

By the Editor.

Early road legislation in Mississippi Territory will be found in Turners's *Statutes of the Mississippi Territory* (1816), pp. 291, *et seq.*, and for Alabama in Toulmin's *Digest of the Laws of Alabama* (1823), pp. 387, *et seq.*, and subsequent volumes of session laws.

Details as to roads projected by the United States Government are to be found in the public Documents. The following are the principal references:

Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the expediency of repairing and keeping in repair the road from Nashville to Natchez; as also the road from Fort Hawkins, in Georgia, to St. Stephens, in the Mississippi Territory. Feb. 9, 1815. Washington City: printed by Roger C. Weightman, 1815. (House Rep. 61, 13 Cong. 3d sess.) 8vo., pp. 4.

Messages from the President, with Reports from Secretaries of Treasury and War, showing amount expended by the Federal Government on works of Internal Improvement, within the limits of the several States, with an estimate of amount necessary to complete any work begun and

not yet completed. Feb. 10, 1829. (Sen. Doc. 69, 20th Cong., 2d sess. In vol. 1.) 8vo., pp. 25.

Roads constructed by the Army. Letter from the Secretary of War, in relation to roads constructed by the Army of the United States. Jan. 13, 1831. (House Doc. 48, 21st Cong., 2d sess. In vol. 2.) 8vo., pp. 10.

Roads, Canals, and Internal Improvements, from 1815 to 1835. July 2, 1836. Committee on Roads and Canals. (House Rep., 850, 24th Cong., 1st sess. In vol. 3.) 8vo., pp. 91.

Federal Legislation is to be found in the U. S. *Statutes at Large.*

Consult also the *National Intelligencer,* 1800, *et seq.,* and Niles' *Register,* 1811, *et seq.*

Books of travel contain numerous and interesting observations on highways, lines of travel, waterways, emigration, etc. *See* F. Cuming's *Tour to the Western Country* (1810); Adam Hodgson's *Journey through North America, 1819, 1820, and 1821,* (1823); and William Bartram's *Travels;* besides many others. Mr. Hamilton gives an interesting summary of Dow's trips through the Southern country, *supra.*

VI. SURRENDER OF WEATHERFORD.

By William Gates Orr,[1] of Okolona, Miss.

Okolona, Miss., Feby. 22, 1893.

Mr. H. S. Halbert,
Crawford, Miss.

My Dear Sir: March 5th, 1892, you wrote to me asking that I give you a statement of the facts of Weatherford's surrender to General Jackson, as detailed to me by my grandfather. Business engagements prevented a compliance at the time and I plead guilty to subsequent neglect.

My grandfather's name was William Gates. He enlisted at Pendleton, S. C. Was an orderly sergeant in Captain Williams' Cavalry Company. As to Gates' Regiment, Company and rank, you can get this from the Pension Office[2] at Washington. His widow, who was his second wife, now draws a pension. Gates did a great deal of special scouting for Jackson and was about the General a great deal. The morning of Weatherford's surrender, he was near the General's tent—say ten or fifteen steps. It was early. He saw Weatherford approach and ask a soldier

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[1] The writer of this letter, William Gates Orr, son of Judge John A. and Lizzie (*Gates*) Orr, is a lawyer of Okolona, Miss. His family is Scotch-Irish, and has been prominent in S. C. and Miss. His great-grandfather, John Orr (son of Robert Orr, emigrant) was in the Revolutionary War; and his grandfather, Christopher Orr (whose wife was Martha, daughter of Robert McCann, of County Down, Ireland) was a merchant and planter. His father is a lawyer of note and has been District Judge in Miss.; and his uncle, James L. Orr, was Speaker of the 38th Cong., Confederate States Senator, Governor of South Carolina, and died as Minister to Russia in 1873. For sketch, with ancestry, of Judge J. A. Orr *see* Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi* (1891), vol. ii, p. 536-540; and of Hon. James L. Orr, *see* Livingston's *Sketches of Eminent Americans*, vol. IV, pp. 205-211, *portrait*, and Gov. B. F. Perry's *Reminiscences of Public Men* (1883), pp. 179-188.

[2] The Bureau of Pensions, Washington, D. C., Dec. 1, 1898, furnished the following record: "Eliza, widow of William Gates, made an application for pension on April 14, 1879, at which time she was 50 years of age and residing in Chickasaw County, Miss., and her pension was allowed for the service of her husband as a sergeant in Capt. Kelly's Company, South Carolina Militia, War of 1812, for a period of 182 days. He enlisted at Muddy Springs, South Carolina. Place and date of birth not stated."

where was General Jackson's tent. Jackson came out. Weatherford walked directly and firmly to the General and asked, "Is this General Jackson?" The reply was, "Yes." "I am Bill Weatherford." Jackson extended his hand and taking Weatherford's hand, said, "I am glad to see you, MR. Weatherford." My grandfather always emphasized the MR., and commented upon the cordial and respectful manner of the General in receiving his foe. After the hand shaking, Weatherford, without parley, show or ostentation, said, "General Jackson, I come in to surrender." Jackson's reply was, "I am glad to hear it." Weatherford said, "Our warriors are killed and scattered, our ammunition is out, our women and children are naked and starving. If we had warriors and something to eat, we would fight on." Jackson said, "You are a brave man and I glory in your spunk." They then walked into the General's tent and my grandfather heard no more. Gates had read of the statements published of Weatherford's surrender, and always ridiculed the idea of pomp or display. He said Weatherford was dressed in buckskin breeches. I do not remember as to his coat or headgear. Carried no arms, was afoot and alone, and my memory is very clear that he was not even escorted to the General's tent by a guard. The general and vague impression that I have is that it was not customary for Jackson in that war and at that time to put out guards around his camp as was and is the custom when the war is between two civilized nations. Things were done loosely and no sentinels were thrown out unless they were close upon the Indians. There was order, of course, but more the order born of the honor and patriotism of the volunteers than military training. And the thing that impressed me most was the idea that the chief of the enemy without flag of truce, escort or parley just simply walked into the midst of Jackson's army, asked for the General, told his business without ado, and left as he had come. After that, the same day, I think, perhaps later, the men, women, etc., came in and surrendered. Gates did not escort Weatherford to Jackson, or in any way have anything to do with it. He was merely a looker on.

Your friend,

W. G. ORR.

CRITICAL AND BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

By the Editor.

The Creek War may be called the Epic Period in the early history of Alabama, then a part of the Mississippi Territory. It has been the subject of numerous histories, memoirs, biographies, and some poetical composition. Tolerably full lists and references are to be found in Parton's *Life of Jackson*, vol. i, pp. xiii-xxv; and Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. vii, pp. 435-6. Hardly a single work exists, however, in which there are not numerous errors, and not one covers the whole field. The very latest work—*The Creek War of 1813 and 1814*, by H. S. Halbert and T. H. Ball (Chicago, 1895, 8vo., pp. 331; ill.),—a valuable production, is not general, but deals with "that part which has not been as yet so fully given, connected with the white settlers in what is now South Alabama." The real history of this struggle, with a critical study of its causes, its actors, the movement of events, considered both in its relation to a wider struggle and also in its local bearings, is yet to be written. When that is done there will be a consequent readjustment, and a shifting of picturesque and heroic figures from exaggerated to real positions.

Of all incidents in the Creek War there is none that has been preserved with more dramatic detail than the surrender of Weatherford. The early narratives clothe it in romantic colors. The common sense view, however, is that it was only an ordinary affair, not differing in material respects from the numerous surrenders being made daily after the battle of the Horse Shoe. Eaton's *Life of Jackson* (1818) contains perhaps the first and most glowing account, and the one mainly followed. The next authority in rank as an original is Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, pp. 347-351. Parton's *Jackson*, vol. i, pp. 527-537, contains a chapter on "The Surrender of Weatherford;" as does also Eggleston's *Red Eagle*, pp. 329-339. Meek's version is in his *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History*, pp. 283-287. Drake's *Indians* (15th ed.) contains an account, pp. 390-91. Parton, Eggleston, Meek and Drake follow Eaton substantially, and each contains the concluding speech beginning: "I desire peace for no selfish reasons," etc. Meek, p. 286, says that "as a specimen of oratory we know nothing finer than this address." Pickett, p. 350, repudiates this part of the interview, and says that the statements "are doubtless based entirely upon camp gossip." Parton, p. 533, admits that Eaton "may have added to the tale a slight presidential campaign flavor," but says that he must have heard it many times from Jackson himself. Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 437, *note*, speaks of Eaton's story as "fictitious," and follows Pickett. The latter is responsible for the deer-killing incident, of which Eaton makes no mention whatever, and which Woodward says has "been played off on the credulity of Col. Pickett." Pickett, p. 348, says he rode the "grey steed" to camp that bore him over the bluff at the Holy Ground, while Meek, p. 280, says that this particular animal "sank to rise no more."

Halbert and Ball's *Creek War*, pp. 284-5, and Driesback's "Weatherford" in the *Ala. Historical Reporter*, March and April, 1884, both late works, treat it as a plain and matter of fact occurrence. Mr. Driesback says he rode the "noble steed" that bore him through the war, but expressly makes the interview to consist of but a few sentences. Woodward's *Reminiscences* (1859) is, however, the leading authority for the latter view, the author writing both from his own observations at the time, and from conversations with Weatherford. He repudiates the story of Weatherford's noble self-renunciation as he soliloquizes whether or not he will surrender, as well as the deer incident, the elaborate dialogue with Jackson, and the pompous speech which usually concludes the interview. The surrender was made as a simple personal necessity; he walked into camp like numerous others who surrendered; and held an interview with Jackson in which they talked over the war. *See* Woodward's *Reminiscences*, pp. 42, 43, 87, 89, 91-103.

VII. COLUMBIAN INSTITUTE.

By Levin Vinson Rosser,[1] of Carrollton.

The founder and principal of this academy, Columbus Tarrant,[2] is supposed to have named it in honor of the great discoverer for whom he himself was named.

Columbian Institute was situated at Taylorville, Tuscaloosa County, Ala., four and a half miles south of the county seat, at the forks of the Greensboro and Centreville public roads. Here, on the east side and some two hundred yards from the former road, and immediately on the north side of the latter, is a shady grove, mostly of forest oaks, and gently sloping southward to the road. This formed the front lawn and study-ground. Back of the grove at the center was the family residence, a spacious one-story framed building with an L at each end, in outline somewhat like a printed capital H, thus affording a wealth of hall and veranda about the numerous airy rooms. Near by, to

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[1] Levin Vinson Rosser, son of Benjamin and Elizabeth (*Ray*) Rosser, was born in Tuskaloosa County, Ala., on Big Sandy creek, where Benjamin Rosser, Sr., his grandfather, had settled in 1820, and had reared a family of nine sons and four daughters. These Rossers were the descendants of the Rossers who had settled in Virginia in Colonial times and were dispersed thence over the Southern States. Betty Vinson, wife of the elder Benj. R., was the granddaughter of Levin Vinson, a Welshman, who had settled in Virginia. The Rossers of Big Sandy, in *antebellum* days, were planters, mostly well to do slave-owners, ardent Methodists, proud of their ancestry and good name, and fondly attached to their kith and kin. The childhood of Levin Vinson was spent in this environment. After attending the neighborhood schools and Pelham Institute, he went to Auburn and graduated, A. B., in the first class of the A. & M. College, 1872. Two years were then spent in teaching in Alabama; two more at Transylvania Law School, Lexington, Ky., where he graduated, LL. B. He went to Colorado in 1878 and engaged in the practice of law, and was for several years a judge of Dolores County. Returning to Alabama in 1885, he engaged in the abstract business at Birmingham till 1891. Since that time he has been teaching, and is now the principal of the Carrollton Academy.

[2] He was born July 3, 1819, in Jeff. Co., and died June 19, 1878, the son of George Tarrant. The latter was the son of John, the son of Leonard Tarrant, the wills of both of whom are on record in Greenville, S. C. The Tarrants are of honorable Scotch descent, early emigrants to Va., and the family were entitled to arms (*see* William and Mary College *Quarterly*).

the west of the residence, with the grove in front and the garden in the rear, were the dormitories, framed cottages, for the use of the boys. On the east side of the residence there stood two school-houses. The older, a one-story frame, with an L in the rear, was further eastward; the newer, a one-story framed structure lathed and plastered inside and out, consisted of a main hall with a small room on each side and an ornamental portico in front. It stood between the older and the family residence. The side rooms were filled, one with a library, the other with scientific apparatus. To the eastward of the school-houses, there was an open old field, where, during the recesses, "town-ball" was wont to hold full sway.

Thus appeared the Institute in its palmiest days, 1861-2. At that time it had about eighty pupils, some twenty or thirty of whom were boys boarding at the Institute; the others were children of the neighborhood or their relatives or friends, boarding with them, and mostly boys, as only small girls usually attended. At this time the Institute was under military discipline, and the principal was assisted by his son, John, who was Commandant. The latter was a graduate of the University of Alabama, and, like the other children of the principal and many of his more advanced pupils, served his apprenticeship in the Institute as a pupil-teacher. In fact, this system, that of pupil-teacher, was one of the marked characteristics of the school and its master, thus enabling him to handle successfully a large number of pupils without paid assistants. But he also had regular assistants, one and the first of whom was Mrs. Caroline Kirby.

The community in those *ante-bellum* days consisted mostly of slave-owning planters, if not wealthy, at least well to do and independent, some with plantations on the rich bottom lands of the Warrior River, the slaves numbering from ten or twelve to fifty or sixty to each family. Tuition fees were usually $2.00 to $4.00, and board $10.00 to $12.00, a month. All bills were collectible and were uniformly paid, at least by the close of the year. By common consent the public money which the pupils of the Institute were entitled to draw was donated to the payment of the tuition of the few poorer children of the district. The patronage was drawn not only from the adjacent neighborhoods but from the adjoining counties and from Mississippi. The boarders were mostly the sons of wealthy planters, many of

whose names cannot now be recalled. Among them may be mentioned Lofton, Gordon, and Eatman, of Pickens; Hale, Shelton, Linebaugh, and Allen, of Greene; McAdory and Spencer, of Jefferson.

In the second year of the Civil War, the schoolmaster became the soldier, and the master of boys was easily transformed into the leader of men in an artillery company.[3] But when the war was over the instincts and fixed habits of the teacher re-asserted themselves and the school was resumed as "Pelham Institute," a name given in honor of him who had displayed so great ability in the same branch of service as that in which our schoolmaster had been engaged. For some seven or eight years the school was continued under this title, and for a time flourished under the assistance of his accomplished daughters, Misses Anna and Sallie, but it never quite regained its *ante-bellum* prestige. With the waning prosperity of the community and the failing health of the founder, it gradually declined and finally closed a few years before his death in 1878.

The course of study, like that of even the best schools of the times, consisted, for the elementary grades, chiefly of the "three R's" (arithmetic, reading, and writing), and for the higher grades, of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics; but no grade was rigidly limited to these. On the contrary, the practical side of life and the proper preparation therefor were ever present in the principal's mind and methods. Practical arithmetic, book-keeping and the natural sciences were not overlooked. These studies sometimes formed the nucleus of a separate summer school. But the chief object of this master-teacher was to instil in the mind of the pupil the courage of self-reliance. Hence, we derive his motto and universal text, "Learn how to learn." He maintained that the regular course of Latin, Greek, and Mathematics afforded the best means of learning this great lesson of life. He claimed also that the chief object of the teacher was not to impart knowledge to the pupils, but to make him the master of this mystery of learning how to learn. Therefore, he was not a lecturer, nor a demonstrator of facts, nor a worker

[3] Tarrant's Battery, for an account of which see Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 704. It was organized in June, 1863. He had previously been a lieutenant in Lumsden's Battery, and resigned to make up the one bearing his own name.

of sums; but by means of a few well directed questions he caused the pupil to begin to think and to do for himself. He had discovered and thoroughly appreciated the value of blackboards, charts, globes, the numeral frame, and the like aids in school-work, most of which he used continuously, especially the blackboard.

He was an expert disciplinarian, never losing control of himself and always master of every situation. His knowledge of human nature as exhibited by boys and girls was remarkable, always enabling him from appearances and circumstances to locate the seat of mischief. Shrewd and a hero indeed was the mischief-making urchin who could evade the detective eye and ear of "Old Ed," as he was familiarly known to his school-boys. In his early career he was noted for his use of the rod; but in later life he entirely abandoned this "indiscretion of youth," as he called it. His experience along this line is worthy of note. In a conversation with the writer of this sketch, a former pupil of his, when the latter was about to assume the role of the pedagogue, looking back over his long career and varied experience in the school room and counselling his pupil as a father would a son, he said that the indiscreet use of the rod had given him more trouble than all other causes combined.

Teaching was the life-time work of this exemplar of the profession. He began it at the age of twenty in 1840,[4] and taught in Pickens, Jefferson, and Dallas, as well as in Tuscaloosa, Counties. It has been claimed for him that he educated more boys in Alabama than any contemporary teacher, except, perhaps, the noted Henry Tutwiler, of Green Springs. Among his pupil-teachers, besides his own children, may be mentioned J. T. Yerby, who became a prominent Baptist minister, as well as teacher. The want of proper records and the lack of accurate information prevents the mention of others. This sketch would not be complete without some mention of her, to whom more than one intimate and life-long friend of this family have said that Capt. Tarrant and his children owe all that they have accomplished in

[4] His life work is thus summarized: he began teaching at Bethlehem church, Jeff. Co., 1840; taught at Carrollton, 1841 and 1842; at Gordo, 1843; retired from the school-room 1844 and 1845; taught at North Port, 1846 and 1847; and at North River, 1848 and 1849; 1849 to 1862 at Columbian Institute, Taylorsville.

life—Permelia A. Van Zandt,[5] who became his wife in their youth. She was the gentle, persistent and consistent power behind the throne that moved and regulated this little kingdom.

After the death of its founder the Institute suffered much, not only from the ordinary ravages of time and neglect, but from a hurricane which swept over it in 1885 and dismantled most of the premises, so that there is now left but a remnant of the former structures. A three-months free school of a handful of children in a dilapidated old house now represents this once noted Institute. The aged and beloved widow still lives, and with her daughter, Miss Sallie, occupies the remnant of the family residence.

APPENDIX.

I. COMPILED LIST OF PUPILS OF COLUMBIAN INSTITUTE.

In the absence of any known catalogues, the list below is appended. It is far from perfect, however. Those known to be dead are indicated by a *.

Allen, Thomas B.
Brooks, Wade,* William,* Temple, Beulah,* Mark.
Chandler, Thomas,* Asa.*
Childs, Willie.*
Clements, Foster.*
Cribbs, Ed., Otis, Carrie.*
Eatman, Robt., Felix.
Eddins, Joe, Jesse, Sim, Charley.
Farmer, Joe, Tom,* Mack, Margaret.*
Frierson, Perry.
Goree, Nap.
Haley, John D.,* Robt. J.,* P. B.,* William.*
Hamner, Sam., Jack, Pickens, Henley.
Hargrove, ————.
Hester, Chap.,* Wiley.*
Hinton, Orlando.
Hood, Jesse, James, David.
Ivey, John.
Kirby, Wash., John, Thomas, Frank.
May, Pickens, Jack, Moody.
McAdory, H. O.*
McCallum, Robt., John, Amanda, Sallie.
Miller, Alva, Stephen, James, Calvin, John.
Moseley, Silas,* Benj.*
Murdock, Moses, James, Martha, Janie, Aggie.
Neilson, Etta, Warren, Robt.*
Owen, John.* William, and Frank.
Ogburne, James, Janie, Margaret,* Eliz.*
Spencer, Anna.* Mary,* Scott.
Thompson, James, Jack, Parker, Shem, Mason, Marion, Judson.

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[5] Daughter of John Van Zandt (born 1785, in N. C.) and his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Elias and and Dicey (*Walker*) DeJernette. The former was a descendant of the family of the name who early came from Holland to New York. The latter is of Huguenot origin, of early seating in Va., probably in Nottoway Co.

Tarrant, John,* William, Anna,* Sallie.
Waldrop, Green B.
Walker, Robt. J.,* Hick. P., John, William.*
Wilds, Sarah, Willie.
Willingham, Woodford.
Willingham, Rufus, Caroline, Catharine, Berry,* Bill Hanner, John.*
Winn, James.
Witherspoon, Pink.,* Wilson,* Willie,* Leah,* Sallie,* Hester.*
Woods, George.
Yerby, Miles, John T.*

II. PELHAM INSTITUTE.

Allen, Beverly.
Andrews, John.
Barbour, Harace,* Dollie, Emma, Tom.*
Brown, Posey.
Calhoun, Ella.
Clements, Luther M., William Rufus.
Countiss, Dick.
Darden, Oscar, Jennie, Rosa, Oliver, Maggie.
Davis, Eugene.
Eddins, Ed., Lola, Mary, Pat., Joe,* Kate.
Gay, Joshua.
Hamner, Sam, John,* Lizzie, Mary, Mattie.
Hawkins, Sam.*
Hinton, George, John, Morgan, Amaziah, Clem.
Judon, John.
Murdock, John, Tom., Nora.
Neilson, Alice, Emma,* George, Edward.
Perry, Thomas.
Phifer, Sam., William, Basil.
Ray, Charley, John, James, Tom.* Mary.
Rosser, Asbury, Vinson (*writer of this sketch*), Clark, Amaziah, Andrew.*
Sanders, William.
Scott, Elisha, Mary, Mac, Daniel,* Ephraim,* Etta.
Smith, Webster, Anna, Mc., Ophelia.
Spencer, Octavia, Theo.,* James, John, Sallie.
Spiller, William, Helen.*
Swindle, John.
Tarrant, Pratt.
Willingham, James.
Witherspoon, Thad.

III. CIRCULAR OF PELHAM INSTITUTE.

Pelham Institute.

Located Four Miles South of Tuskaloosa.
Three Miles from the Depot.

ED. TARRANT, Principal and Proprietor.

The exercises will be resumed on

FIRST MONDAY IN OCTOBER.

Boys will be prepared for any of the Classes in College, or for Accountants.

The Course in the Female Department is equal to that of the best Schools.

EXPENSES FOR THE YEAR.

Tuition, Board, Washing, and Lights, $160 00

EXTRA.

French	*30 00*
Music	*50 00*
Use of Instrument	*10 00*
Commercial Course	*40 00*

Rooms are furnished with Tables, Chairs, Bedsteads and Mattresses.

One-half of the above payable at the beginning; the other half on the 14th Feb'y next.

Sept. 1st, 1873.

VIII. JOSEPH G. BALDWIN.[1]

By Thomas Badger Wetmore.[2]

I have been repeatedly solicited to furnish material to various parties for an historical sketch of the late Hon. Joseph G. Baldwin, to be incorporated into biographical notices of him. Utterly unable to remember dates, or give events chronologically in his life with which I was familiar, I have never complied, as the execution of such a task would be mere bosh-work, a compilation (if I could perform it) of a kind of almanac, showing when such a speech was made, or the exact time when he went to Livingston, Ala., or the day he sailed for California, &c. Then, too, he was too grand a man to be considered as a mere bundle of items. I have thought, therefore, to jot down in a general way, some recollections of him, for the perusal of the old men of the country, who still survive, who long ago glowed under his eloquence, or laughed at his anecdotes, or communed with him in conversation.

Way down in the forties I entered the court room at Livingston, Alabama, fresh from an old State, fresh from Blackstone, fresh, even unto greenness, in the order of things in my

[1] From *Choctaw Herald*, Butler, Ala., Feb. 4 and 11, 1892.

[2] T. B. Wetmore, son of Ichabod and Elizabeth A. (*Badger*) Wetmore, was born in New Bern, N. C., April 7, 1821, and died at Birmingham, Ala., March 8, 1894. His father was a son of Ichabod and Elizabeth (*Christophers*) Wetmore. She was a granddaughter of Christopher Christophers and Elisabeth Brewster, daughter of Jonathan Brewster, son of Elder William Brewster, of "Mayflower" fame. The silver handle of the walking cane of C. Christophers, on which is engraved his name and the date "1717," is now in the possession of R. P. Wetmore, Birmingham, Ala. Elisabeth Badger was the sister of Hon. George E. Badger, of North Carolina. T. B. Wetmore graduated at Chapel Hill, N. C., 1841, and soon afterward removed to Livingston, Ala., where he lived for a time, and then removed to Selma. Late in life he went to Birmingham. He was a lawyer of ability, and at different times the partner of Mr. Baldwin and Col. Robert H. Smith. He served in the Confederate Army. He married Octavia Trueheart Hill, daughter of Gen. James Twyman and Maria (*Gibbs*) Hill, of Livingston, by whom he had Robert Smith, Richmond Pearson (now of Birmingham), James Hill and Laura Holmes Wetmore. For short sketch of T. P. Wetmore *see* Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 229.

new home, with a high opinion of the attainments of one who had been "examined by Ruffin," and a praiseworthy willingness to discover merit even among lawyers who had only Alabama to practice in. Baldwin was addressing the Court on a legal question. He appeared in a manner awkward, showed no consideration for display, but managed his case with much judgment. He appeared to be younger than he really was, and resembled a backwoodsman, who had recently "come to town," but who had strong sense, and command of language to enfore it. After he concluded, I took occasion, in rather a patronizing way, to congratulate him on his effort; but grew rather small when told by a friend that his name was Baldwin, and that it was one of Ala-notice. I felt cheap!

He would have caused himself to be underrated; but for the big brain power that lurked behind his tall forehead, and which, when it gave expression through his voice, produced immediate attention, and held that attention fixed. The boot might have held the leg of the pants hitched, but there was no hitch in his argument. His shirt bosom might be rumpled; but his sentences, though rapidly uttered, were smooth, and logically arranged. His coat might appear a little dingy, but the woof of his address was unclouded, and had no dust. If one foot was upon the seat of a neighboring chair, his antagonist could derive no satisfaction for that awkwardness of position, but would rather feel that "Jo" was mashing the liver out of him.

I never knew another man so great as he, who won his laurels so entirely by his intellect, unaided by praising, or artful arrangement of surroundings, and clap-trap. He not only disregarded all the common methods of public men to celebrate themselves, or attract admiration whether by peculiarities, or excess in apparel, or friendly assistance; but he seemed to avoid them. Nevertheless, he won men, as he won cases, by honest endeavor, earnest intelligence, and the highest conviction of duty. His eloquence was convincing; his logic stirring. Philologians would say, I am using terms crosswise; and discover in me a want of "properties." 'Tis true, nevertheless.

Some amusing remembrances of Mr. Baldwin in connection with his dress occur to me. Getting up one morning, and rather hurriedly proceeding to dress, he found a snake in his boot, but not noticing how heavy the boot was, with the addition of the

snake, he did not discover the fact, till foot and snake were mixed together in the boot. Tradition does not inform us whether the snake or Baldwin was the more surprised of the two, but they separated with mutual aversion.

About this time Mr. Baldwin took a trip northward. Up the Ohio River, the boat he was on was destroyed. The list of casualties in the Northern papers had the intelligence that Mr. Baldwin, of Alabama, was saved, with the loss of his baggage.

Mr. Baldwin was perhaps a little over the usual height, well proportioned, leaned a little forward, walked rapidly, with his hat rather back on his head, an expression of countenance somewhat pensive, except when lit up by some person or thing which awoke his attention. Then feature and language semed to brighten at once. His conversation was so remarkable, that his description of events uttered rapidly was equal, when uttered in familiar conversation, to the same subject when printed. His words seemed leaping from tongue to paper. His description of the conversation between Jonathan Bliss and Ned Ellis, when related by him to a few of us in Dr. Garber's office, just after it occurred, was just as racy, as fun-provoking, and interesting, as it was when put in book form, bound in calf-skin, and the cause of mirth with thousands of readers.

Indeed in this respect he was a most remarkable man. He wrote as he talked. His sentences were short and pointed, and not improved ordinarily by print. The result of this great capacity of his to form without effort his sentences; to group them together in the most attractive way without effort or preparation; to render all that he said enjoyable without having to be studied; and when he threw out his book to make you feel that some stenographer had just taken down his conversation, these things were marvelous.

I have said he made no effort to display himself. More than that, was witty, because he enjoyed wit. But he never tried to call any attention to himself as a man of wit. He was at times eloquent; but he was only carried away by his eloquent thoughts that arose from a high feeling of lofty moral sentiment. He never put on the air of one who felt his own importance when he uttered great thoughts. There was nothing in his countenance of "See! me big Indian heap," as the Choctaw chief expressed it.

The most noted of his compositions, before he went to Cali-

fornia, were his *Flush Times*, his *Party Leaders*, and his *S. S. Prentiss*. These were composed by him with great rapidity. The most celebrated of them all was the first named, a book inimitable in itself, and justly entitled to the popularity it acquired, but far inferior in depth of thought, and calm philosophical comment, to the *Party Leaders*. He wrote as rapidly and at such odd times, that he would come hurriedly into his office, jot down a paragraph or two, and as hurriedly leave it; returning after awhile and continuing to write upon his theme, taking up any convenient slip of paper near, and running the risk of disjointed essay. He would show perhaps the little regard for after fame he might acquire, by handing over his bundle of manuscript to some friend to fit the leaves together in some kind of shape, which had to be done sometimes by supplying or changing parts needing dovetailing on account of his overcareless and unmethodical methods, which seemed to defy the consequence of such interruption. Nor did any friend do more than the simple smoothing of a joint, created by his neglect. The writer of this simply disclaims, as has been perhaps sometimes accredited to him, the honor of having assisted him in any way, except mechanically, and even then very slightly.

His style was thought to resemble that of Charles Lamb. He was fond, very fond, of the essays of Elia. Did he draw the character of good, honest old Ben O'Pek, when he was downed by a sharp man of the period of *Flush*, he wailed for him as for a milk-cow that was lariatted, or a pet pig caught in a trap. That was an instance of sharpness beneath the consideration of intelligent sportsmanship, and the employment of an educated trickster.

I have seen the statement somewhere that Baldwin was the only great man the writer ever knew who could afford to be a funny one. He had command of all the avenues and departments of humor, as well as of high thought and expression. He could be witty in the highest sense of the term, and he could rollick in fun of the side-splitting kind. Rare combination, with the power at ease to adopt a loftier style of reason, and pure eloquence. In all these rare gifts of tongue and pen, he never tainted a young man with filth, nor caused a virtuous man to feel an immoral influence. Did a rash political opponent overestimate the martial achievements of some party leaders, and try to hold up to admiration, exploits not very remarkable, Bald-

win quenched his eloquence and set his audience to roaring by the sharp enquiry, "Who ever heard before of a *tolerable* hero?"

But if his wit was keen, and his humor great, there was no malice in his tongue. He was ever considerate of the feelings of others. Without envy, hatred, or malice, or any uncharitableness, the subject which engaged his thought and discourse occupied his entire attention. It was this regard which he had for the feelings of others, the disposition to avoid all that was insulting, that doubtless caused some of baser nature, to believe they could go too far, as I have heard it said one rash individual did, who, becoming more aggressive than even Baldwin's generous nature allowed, found himself about being hurled by him from the upstairs window of a court house.

In the cause of humanity, of virtue, truth and justice, he was indeed a brave man. Who, in South Alabama, does not remember the case of the State vs. S., when a man of wealth, family connection, and influence, was charged with the barbarous murder of a poor slave; how a younger member of the bar, then Solicitor of the court, now one of the most eminent men in this State, had Baldwin's assistance, unselfishly rendered; how he encountered in that case Robert H. Smith, Francis S. Lyon, and William M. Murphy; how manfully he conducted his part of the fight, and fearlessly denounced the crime; how ably he bore himself in behalf of a cause which he believed to be just against a most unusual array of the best legal ability of the State, against the prejudice of caste, against the array of wealth and social influence. He lost the case before the jury, but on that occasion he was the man, strong, eloquent and fearless, and the heart of a sympathic audience beat with him. It was in this case that he used an expression which to this day I recall, which illustrates how rapidly his mind took in the whole field which imagination and ridicule blended together. The defense endeavored to break down the testimony of the chief witness for the State. It attacked him without scathe, with all the power of invective, and made him the subject of repeated outbursts of impassioned utterances. Baldwin said: "This is the victim around whose forehead the counsel have wound their garlands of rhetoric, while preparing to stab with their invectives the unsuspecting Billy Goat." It looked like a sudden fall from the

sublime to the ridiculous; but was it really that? Let Philologicians decide. Byron had this peculiarly in some of his verse.

Thackery, who was on a visit to America when his communications to the press were first published, was known to have greatly appreciated his writings. They obtained at once a wide celebrity, which gave him no vanity, but doubtless made him feel that powers so easily exercised, could be as easily put in play in other and more remunerative fields.

He went to San Francisco and started in this new field of Law. This was in the fifties, and he rose at once to distinction there; and it was there that his grandeur was made manifest. I believe that it was Macauley who pronounced that the highest element in Dr. Johnson's character was *valor*. I have often thought that this was the crowning point of Baldwin's most excellent make up something including, but far superior to, mere personal bravery. Shortly after he opened his office in San Francisco the famous "committee of thirteen," with no other known name, were hanging citizens from their Ware House window. The city was terrorized, and there was no Law. It appeared otherwise however. The people there were loud in applauding the new order of things. Even the pulpit aided the effort of this institution. The excuse was that the law was no protection; that juries acquited criminals, and that something was necessary to protect society; that the jury box was unsafe, and only held rascals, to hide from punishment other rascals. Baldwin took the field,—pen in hand. He showed how the best men in the city had shirked duty as citizens and jurors, and left the law to be enforced by bad men, who took their places; how their eager pursuit after wealth, had made them disregard their duties as men, and how they were themselves responsible for such creatures being put in their places; how deplorable the condition of things was in the hands of the "13." It was a combat he undertook, of great personal danger to himself, but he fought it fearlessly against whatever was arrayed against him—whether pulpit millionaire, or the unknown personality of the Thug Thirteen. The Thirteen at last arrested a Judge, and had him at their rooms. The danger was so great that a Sovereign State had to appear as Petitioner to the awful institution of lawlessness for the release of the Judge. He was released at last! But San Francisco was not the whole of California. The tide changed. The

State spoke. The Thirteen disappeared. The Courts were set in motion. Then California wanted a Judge—a Chief Justice—firm for the right, fearless in discharge of duty, who had no thought of himself while devoting himself to the investigation of the rights of others; and she called on her man of valor, to act as her Chief Justice. Baldwin was elected by the people of the State. The pen was mightier than the Thug.[3]

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[3] Mr. Baldwin was born in the Shenandoah Valley, Va., about 1811; removed first to Macon, Miss., and in 1839 to Gainesville, and later to Livingston, Ala. About 1853 he went to Mobile, and the next year removed to California. He was a lawyer of eminence, and in politics a Whig. His wife was Sidney, a daughter of John White, one of the early Judges of Alabama. Sketches of him are in Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 528; Garrett's *Public Men in Ala.*, pp. 358-9; and Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Biography*, Vol. i, p. 149, where it is erroneously stated that he was born in Sumter, Ala. A list of his writings is in Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*, pp. 802-3. For an account of the early settlement of the White family in the State, *see* Col. James E. Saunders' "Early Settlers of Lawrence County, Alabama," in Moulton *Adveritser*.

IX. CLEMENT CLAIBORNE CLAY.

By Mrs. Virginia Clay-Clopton,[1] of Gurley.

Clement Claiborne Clay, first child of Clement Comer and Susanna (*Withers*) Clay, was born Dec. 13, 1816, near Huntsville, Madison county, Alabama, and died at his home, "Wildwood," eighteen miles from the same town, Jan. 3, 1882.

Mr. Clay was a man rarely endowed by nature. His brilliant career was shadowed forth in childhood, though extreme physical delacy of constitution often prevented attendance at school. A pet pupil of Rev. Dr. John Allan,[2] his first tutor, a Presbyterian Divine, the child recited, at an examination, a poetical satire, the effusion of his teacher, when so small that he ascended the platform steps on his all-fours, to the amusement of the audience, and delight of the old Doctor, who continued the devoted friend and admirer of Mr. Clay through life. At five years of age,

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[1] Mrs. Clopton, daughter of Dr. Peyton Randolph and Annie (*Arrington*) Tunstall, was born in Nash county, N. C. The Tunstalls are an old Virginia family, with branches in many parts of the South. Her mother was the daut. of William and Mary (*Williams*) Arrington, of N. C. The Arringtons and Williams are notable families of N. C. Her mother dying at an early age, she was reared in the home of her aunt, the wife of Gov. Henry W. Collier, of Tuscaloosa. She was educated at the famous Alabama Female Institute, of that town, under the tuition of the celebrated Miss M. B. Brooks, afterward the wife of Prof. Samuel M. Stafford, of the State University. Later she spent a year in the Nashville Academy under the double presidency of Messrs. Lapsley and Elliott. She was m. to Hon. C. C. Clay, Feb., 1843. Her home after marriage was at Huntsville until Mr. Clay's election in 1853 to the U. S. Senate. "While her husband was in Washington Mrs. Clay was one of the brightest ornaments of society there."—Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 359. The story of her efforts in behalf of her husband in his captivity are told in the following paper, and also in Garrett's *Public Men in Alabama*, pp. 289-292. *See also* Craven's *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis*. Her devotion in this crisis was morally grand. On Nov. 27, 1887, several years after Mr. Clay's death, she was married to Judge David Clopton, of Montgomery. She survives him, and now resides at her home, "Wildwood," in Madison Co.

[2] He was the grandfather of the distinguished surgeon of New York City, Dr. John Allan Wyeth. Dr. Allan came from England, settling in Georgia, and thence locating in Huntsville. Sketches of the Wyeths and connections are to be found in Smith and De Land's *Northern Alabama*, pp. 395-6; the Souvenir Edition of the Guntersville *Democrat*, 1895, p. 39, *portraits;* and in the *National Cyclopedia of American Biography*.

he read the Declaration of Independence to an admiring circle. At eighteen Mr. Clay graduated at the University of Alabama, in the class of 1834,[3] of which but one remains, the honored Dr. John Brahan Read, who, I am sure, will testify to the ability, purity and loveliness of character then shown by his young college-mate. From Tuskaloosa, Mr. Clay went to the University of Virginia for three years, studied law under Prof. John B. Minor, and returned home to become a partner of his father at the age of twenty-two.

Mr. Clay was highly gifted intellectually, endowed with a nature intensely refined and emotional, possessed of the loftiest sense of honor, "felt a stain like a wound," and bore to his grave, despite slander and calumny, as unsullied an escutchson as ever Knightly Crusader bore. Mr. Clay's ability at the bar of Huntsville, where he soon shone the peer of his father, and of Silas Parsons, James W. McClung, and the gifted Walker[4] brothers, gave promise of a statesmanship soon called into requisition by the constituency of North Alabama. Having filled the position of private Secretary to his father, while Governor of the State (my uncle, Col. Thos. B. Tunstall, being then Secretary of State), thereby famililarizing himself with the politics of the period, he was called upon by Mr. Philip Woodson, Editor of the Huntsville *Democrat*,[5] to accept the editorial chair of that paper, during the campaign of Polk and Dallas. This responsibile task was per-

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[3] This was the third class graduated from the State University. The following are the eleven members which composed it: James F. Bailey, Esq.; C. C. Clay, Jr.; Wm. A. Cochrane, M. D.; Walter H. Crenshaw, Esq.; Isham Harrison Kelly, Esq.; James H. Mastin; Wm. S. Parham; Judge Thomas M. Peters; John B. Read, M. D.; John M. Smith; and Charles W. Tait, M. D.

Since the foregoing was written Dr. Read has passed away. He died at Tuscaloosa, Ala., Jan. 25, 1899; for sketch of him *see* Tuscaloosa *Gazette*, Jan. 26, 1899.

[4] The Walker family has been a noted one in this State. The founder in Alabama, John Williams Walker, son of Rev. Jeremiah and Jane (*Graves*) Walker, married Matilda, a daughter of LeRoy Pope, one of the founders of Huntsville. John W. Walker was a lawyer, President of the Constitutional Convention of Alabama, 1819, and one of the first U. S. Senators from Ala. He died in 1823. His daughter married Dr. R. L. Fearn, of Mobile. His sons were: Gen. LeRoy Pope Walker, Judge R. W. Walker, and Messrs. John J., Percy, and Capt. Wm. Walker. R. W. Walker, Esq., late one of the Associate Justices of the State Supreme Court, now residing at Huntsville, is a grandson.

[5] This is one of the oldest newspapers in the State, the first number being issued Oct. 7, 1823. A complete file, 1823 to 1856, is the property of Thomas M. Owen, Esq., Carrollton, Ala.

formed in a manner highly satisfactory to the people, his leading articles often winning approbation and compliment through the public press of the State. Soon afterward Mr. Clay was elected Probate Judge of Madison County, but resigned after some years service because of too onerous duties and his delicate health. In 1853, he was selected as candidate to oppose Williamson R. W. Cobb,[6] as representative in Congress from the Eighth Congressional district, but after a most exciting campaign, in which Mr. Clay won the esteem and admiration of hosts of friends by his manly and masterly conduct in the race, he suffered a Waterloo, as had the Hon. Jere. Clemens in the same effort two years previous. This defeat, however, proved a remarkable victory, the Legislature of the State, electing him, the following winter, United States Senator, over many older aspirants,[7] for the term of six years. This unusual distinction placed him in that august body, as the third youngest man, that had ever taken the seat, Henry Clay of Kentucky, and John C. Calhoun, the other memorable instances. Mr. Clay went into the Senate in 1853, with the grand Veto-President, Franklin Peirce, and went out, with Mr. Buchanan and the secession of Alabama. He thereby gave up four unexpired years of service and their emolument. The Legislature in 1859 unanimously re-elected him for a second term of six years, before the expiration of his first term.

The Congressional records show the faithful manner in which this conscientious representations of the people discharged his responsible trust. In a letter from his able successor, Hon. John Tyler Morgan, I extract a sentence:

"Whenever I feel like flagging under pressure of my Senatorial duties, I recall your noble husband's career, his untiring discharge of duty, and endeavor to follow in the path he led."

Mr. Clay was ever loyal to his friends, even to personal sacrifice, an instance of which is the following. While Mr. Davis was contemplating the formation of his Cabinet, Mr. Clay called, asking permission to suggest a man for Secretary of War, who he begged might receive the appointment. Mr. Davis replied: "I regret to refuse you, Clay, but my selection is already made."

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[6] Mr. Cobb entered Congress in 1847, and was never defeated until the State withdrew from the Union in 1861, although the very best men of the District were pitted against him. He was a remarkable campaigner.

[7] He received 85 votes, to 37 for Hon. R. W. Walker.

"May I inquire who is the man?" "Clement C. Clay, of Ala." replied the President, to my husband's astonishment! He then and there declined the honor, upon promise of the post being given to General L. Pope Walker, to whom Mr. Clay had pledged his influence for a Cabinet appointment.

Mr. Clay was early made Chairman of the Committee of Commerce, and his exhaustive speech on the Fishing Bounties shows his indefatigable research in that boundless field of labor. The position was no sinecure, and realizing its great responsibility, he was never absent from a meeting unless sick in bed, frequently the only member present, an example well worthy imitation of all public servants. Mr. Clay's Valedictory to the Senate, the day he took his final departure from its floor, is a red-letter day in the history of our country, and its records and revelations should be read and remembered by the youth of the south as long as the Southern Cross gleams above it. I sat in the gallery of the Senate that momentous day, and heard the farewell speeches of the Senators from Louisana, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida and Alabama, saw them place their portfolios under their arms, and leave that Chamber, whose time honored walls had often rung with the burning defiance of their eloquent tongues! It was a day burnt into my memory! On his retirement, January, 1861, Mr. Clay was immediately elected Confederate States Senator, taking his seat at Richmond, Virginia, when, after a short term of service, he was appointed by the Confederate cabinet secret commissioner to Canada. His conferees were Hons. Jacob Thompson, of Mississippi, and James P. Holcombe, of Virginia.

It was unfortunately the year of President Lincoln's untimely assassination, the bloody conclave of conspirators making their rendezvous on Canadian soil, while concocting and perfecting their unhallowed work. When it was accomplished, and the world stood aghast at its horror, I well remember my husband saying when we learned it, with voice and manner of petrified regret and despair: "It is the hardest blow yet for the stricken and the bleeding South." Intense, was the added surprise, to find that proclamations from Andrew Johnson, President of the U. S., were flooding the country, implicating, not only each of the Commissioners, but Jefferson Davis and Clement C. Clay, as the bold incitors of the awful crime! A reward of one hundred

thousand dollars in gold was offered for the arrest of Mr. Davis and Mr. Clay, each, (I have it in print, many times), and twenty-five thousand dollars for each of the others. My husband first saw the proclamation from my hands, at the elegant home of Senator Ben. Hill, of La Grange, Georgia, where we, with other refugees, were honored guests. From this place he sent, without delay, the following telegram, to Major-General Wilson, commanding the Federal forces at Macon, Georgia, General Howell Cobb having surrendered the city a few days previous:

"I have this moment seen the President's proclamation implicating me in the assassination of President Lincoln. Conscious of my innocence, and disdaining to fly my country, I will report myself to you as soon as steam can bear me.

CLEMENT C. CLAY, JR.,
Ex-Peace Commissioner to Canada."

The scene of surrender in Senator Hill's house was a thrilling picture of war-times, alone requiring the space to properly depict to which I am limited in this brief sketch.

Mr. Clay had made preparations, in conjunction with General Wigfall of Texas, to join General Dick Taylor in the Trans-Mississippi Department, expecting to leave in a day or two, when, I, at my husband's request, sought the incoming train from Atlanta, to learn the news, and especially to inquire what currency was needed for travel southward, my intention being to join our parents, Gov. and Mrs. Clay in Huntsville. Interrogating the baggage-master, through young Ben Hill, he said, in answer to my question, "Gold, madam, or greenback, Macon is in the hands of General Wilson, and Atlanta is surrendered to General Eggleston of Ohio, and Confederate paper will not do." I then asked, "Is there any other news?" When, judge my feelings, came the response: "Yes, madam, a reward of one hundred thousand dollars in gold is offered for the arrest of Clement C. Clay, of Alabama!" My knees smote together as my senses took in the import of his words, and staggering to Senator Hill's carriage, leaning on the arm of his youngest daughter Henrietta, entered. We were about driving off, when Hon. Philip Phillips, of Washington City, appeared at the door of the landau, and placing his finger on the paragraph in the freshly printed paper, said "Go quickly home to Clay and show him this." I found my husband as usual in his room, quietly reading "Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy," a book of which he was passionately fond. But, before

I had time to open the paper, Senator Hill, Mr. Mallory, ex-Secretary of the Confederate Navy, and Senator T. J. Semmes, of Louisiana, all of whom, in my passage through the hall, I had asked to follow me, as I had news of great importance, entered, upon which I placed the newspaper in Sen. Hill's hand. Reading it aloud, each one seemed paralyzed and for a moment speechless!

Mr. Clay paled to marble whiteness for a moment, when, the indignant blood, surging to his head made scarlet his face, while, in reply to the hurried, impulsive advice and implorations of his startled friends, to "*fly at once,*" he gravely, but firmly said, "*Fly?* fly from what? from whom? I shall surrender to the Federal authorities at once, and demand the trial to which I am entitled."

I found myself on my knees imploring and adjuring him by the innocent blood shed for the "Cause" in vain, to fly for safety, when he recalled me to my senses by asking, "Would you, my wife, have me fly like a guilty assassin?"

I remember Mr. Mallory saying, "A hundred thousand dollars is a glittering bribe to two disbanded armies, Clay,"—and many similar speeches from the others. At this crisis, a knock was heard at the door, with a wife's instinct I flew to, and locked it, —when the word "Phillips," was heard. Appealed to for his opinion, he said, "What does Mr. Clay say?" and being told, he replied, "I thought he would surrender, and I approve it heartily." I had feared it was the man or men coveting the reward, but, be it spoken to the honor of both sides, none came to molest, or add to my great grief. Never shall I forget Senator Hill's conduct at this terrible moment. With his eye upon the door, and his hand upon my husband's shoulder, he said, "The man who dares cross my threshold, Clay, to lay his hand on you, falls upon it!" Towering in his majestic proportions, his eyes ablaze with defiant heroism, he looked truly, the avenging angel righting the wrongs of the world! After half an hour of consultation, the above telegram was sent, Col. Phillips kindly bearing it himself, as it was an insurance against future molestation. Next morning early, we were *en route* to Macon, under Federal escort. The fact of Mr. Clay's surrender had been flashed ahead of us, and every station was crowded by friends eager to take him

by the hand, and many, to rescue him. More than once, was he forcibly held, being urged to leave the train, and allow himself to be spirited away beyond the power of the U. S. Government. At one place, a noble-hearted friend threw him a purse of gold, which was tossed back to the owner as the train moved off. At Atlanta General Eggleston, who met my husband as a friend, highly commending his surrender as a brave man, detailed an officer, Lieut. Peck, to accompany us to Macon, remarking that "there were unruly boys on both sides, who might offend Mrs. Clay." This young officer deported himself in the most kindly and considerate manner, never once showing his teeth, though fully armed, confiding implicitly, as I construed his conduct, in Mr. Clay's paroled d' honneur which he knew had been given. I shall always retain a pleasant memory of this young man. Arriving at Macon, Mr. Clay's presence was communicated to Maj. Gen. Wilson through our loved friend Col. Phillips, who had accompained us from La Grange.

Of subsequent events, the travel with Mr. Davis and party, who were prisoners in Macon before we arrived there, of Mr. Alex. Stephens and party joining us, Post-master Reagan among them, of the final distribution of them from the ship "Clyde," anchored in Hampton Roads, Mr. Mallory, ex-Secretary of Confederate Navy, to Fort McHenry, Stephens to Fort Warren, to "kill him by climate," as he said to me, and the final assignment of Mr. Davis and Mr. Clay to Fortress Monroe, are matters too well known to require re-capitulation. Suffice it to say, that Mr. Clay was detained one whole year[8] in solitary confinement, no hu-

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[8] Following the death, in Feb., 1899, of Hon. A. H. Garland, Mr. Amos Cummings published in the Washington *Post*, Feb. —, 1899, an account as narrated to him by Mr. Garland, of the efforts of Mrs. Clay to obtain the release of her husband. In the same paper, March 5, 1899, Mr. George C. Gorham reviewed this account and pointed out numerous errors. Mr. Gorham presents the facts quite fully, with full text of the order for the release, dated April 17, 1866.

It is as follows:

"War Department, Adjutant General's Office,
"Washington, April 17, 1866.

"Maj. Gen. N. A. Miles, commanding, etc., Fortress Monroe, Va.:

"Ordered, That Clement C. Clay, Jr., is hereby released from confinement, and permitted to return to and remain in the State of Alabama, and to visit such other places in the United States as his personal business may render absolutely necessary, upon the following condition, viz, that he takes the oath of allegiance to the United States, and gives his parole of honor to conduct himself as a loyal citizen of the same, and

man being save the physician in charge, and Gen. Nelson A. Miles, who was custodian to the distinguished prisoners, Gen. Burton being commandant of the Fort, being allowed even a monosyllabic answer to a question, his fare that of a common soldier, no book or paper save the prison Bible in its miserable print, and no comfort save a hard cot, and a stool, no letter from wife or mother ever reached him, all being detained at the War office. In justice to Gen Miles, I will say, that he added a chair to the furniture at my request and ever and anon, sent me a short note assuring me of Mr. Clay's condition, for which I was, and am even now grateful.

After a whole year's futile attempt to make a case against him, employing bribery to the amount of thousands of dollars, by perjury of the deepest dye, and all manner of corruption and rottenness in high places, this brave, innocent, *self-surrendered prisoner, entitled to a trial by a jury of his countrymen,* though enemies, which trial, though importuned was persistently denied, was, at last, through the ceaseless efforts of his wife, allowed to pass the iron bars of his cell. She had obtained and carried to President Johnson letters in Mr. Clay's favor, from Vice-President Wilson, of Masachusetts, Gen'l. Grant, even old Thad. Stevens, who declared that "in his opinion Mr. Clay had nothing to do with President Lincoln's tragic death." The release came, but too late for the released, Mr. Clay left his prison a man broken in health, broken in fortune and broken in heart!

I might pray forgiveness of the mighty wrong, had any *amende honorable* been offered for the unjust and unrighteous punishment, but no word was ever spoken in recognition of the proven innocence of these men, no confession of rank injustice from one of the bad, bold prosecutors of these tortured martyrs! Their incarceration and treatment will forever remain a blot on the government of the U. S. of America.

An imperfect pen-picture of Mr. Clay, for the gratification of those who never knew him, will, I hope be pardoned. His ap-

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to report himself in person at any time and place to answer any charges that may hereafter be prepared against him by the United States.

"Please report receipt and execution of this order.

"By order of the President of the United States:

"E. D. TOWNSEND,

"Assistant Adjutant General."

(McPherson's *History of Reconstruction*, p. 8.)

pearance was both striking and pleasing. Nearly six feet in height, he was symmetrical and graceful, looking the orator; his head and features were classic in their beauty, betraying gentle blood; his complexion florid, hair and eyes very dark, the latter, when lighted in debate, shone black as jet with intellectual fire. There was an easy elegant languor of manner, induced by constitutional delicacy that enhanced the personal charm of the man.

Mr. Clay had given himself to God in the communion of the Protestant Episcopal Church in early life, living daily in that faith which sustained him through fiery trials, purifying and sublimiating him for that higher life to which he soon attained. While in the grim, gray walls of Fortress Monroe, he read the Bible through again and again, and memorized many hymns and psalms of the prayer-book, and told me on one occasion, when recalling those, which gave him most comfort and repose of mind and soul, that in those prison walls, he really first experienced, "that peace which passeth all understanding."[9]

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[9] Brief sketches of Mr. Clay are to be found in Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 356-9; Garrett's *Public Men in Ala.*, pp. 289-292; Lanman's *Dictionary of Congress* (1859), p. 109; and Craven's *Prison Life of Jefferson Davis*. His public speeches are in the *Congressional Globe*. A list of those printed separately will be found in Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*, pp. 865-866. His letter, dated Huntsville, March 15, 1866, to L. Q. C. Lamar, recounting his prison treatment is given in Mayes' *Life of Lamar*, pp. 121-2.

The known likenesses of Mr. Clay are all in Mrs. Clopton's possession. (1) Oil painting, 1821, by Grimes, a strolling artist, represents him as a child of five, full figure in dark suit, jacket ornamented with three rows of brass buttons, and white collar, with crimped ruffle. (2) Oil portrait, 1850, by an Austrian artist named Frye, no beard and rather sophomoric in pose. (3) Full length photograph, 1854, by Brady, Washington, D. C. (4) Cabinet photograph, Ulke's gallery; companion to one of President Pierce. (5) Head on the One Dollar Bill, Confederate currency, 1862, 3; a good likeness. (6) Crayon, 1868, by John Giles; life size. (7) Photograph of Jefferson Davis and Mr. Clay, Mosser's gallery, Memphis, Tenn.; taken after their release from prison.

His MSS., diaries and papers, an accumulation of years, are in the hands of Mrs. Clopton.

X. STATISTICS OF THE PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL CHURCH IN THE DIOCESE OF ALABAMA.

By Rev. Richard Hooker Cobbs and Rev. Walter C. Whitaker.[1]

A clergyman of the Church of England held services at Mobile in 1763.

The Rev. Samuel Hart,[2] of Charleston, S. C., was missionary at Mobile in 1764.

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[1] Rev. R. H. Cobbs, son of Bishop Nicholas H. and Lucy H. L. *(Cobbs)* Cobbs, was born Sept. 5, 1835, in Bedford county, Va. He is a graduate of the University of Alabama, taking the A. B. degree 1855, and A. M., 1858; and after a preparation for the ministry at the General Seminary, New York, he was ordained in 1858. For a short while he lived in Huntsville, but in 1861 took charge of St. Paul's church, Greensboro, Ala., where he now resides. He received the degree of D. D. from Centre College, Ky., 1876. He is now and has been for years Secretary of the Diocesan Council. For genealogy of the Cobbs Family *see Transactions* of the Ala. Hist. Soc., 1850-1897, vol. i. Bishop Cobbs was one of the founders of the Society.

Rev. W. C. Whitaker, son of Lucius Fletcher and Rowena *(Oates)* Whitaker, was born Jan. 28, 1867, in Lenoir, Caldwell County, N. C., and in 1879 accompanied his parents to Alabama, residing successively in Marion, Tuskegee and Auburn. He is a graduate of the A. and M. College, Auburn, taking the A. B. degree 1884, and A. M., 1891. He taught school in Mobile, 1884-88. Under the influence of his rector, the present Bishop of Western Texas, he entered the ministry of the Protestant Episcopal Church; was ordained Deacon by Bishop Wilmer in Trinity Church, Mobile, Aug. 12, 1888, and Priest by him there, Feb. 2, 1891. His charges have been the Church of the Holy Innocents, Auburn, Sept., 1888, to Feb., 1891; the Church of the Holy Comforter, Montgomery, Feb., 1891, to May, 1893; and Christ Church, Tuscaloosa, May, 1893. He established the mission of Grace Church, Mt. Meigs, and was minister there, 1890-92. He has conducted the *Church Record of Alabama* six years, and in 1898 published a *History of the Church in Alabama*, besides several pamphlets and papers. He was clerical deputy from Alabama to the General Conventions of his Church at Minneapolis, 1895, and Washington, 1898. On March 30, 1891, he married Isabel Preston, daughter of Thomas E. and Theodora (*Hubert*) Royal, of Nottoway County, Va.

[2] He had poor success in West Florida and Mobile. Rev. Charles Woodmanson, writing in 1766, gives an amusing picture of the people and the religious situation there, with an account of a sermon by Mr. Hart to the Indian Congress, 1765. This is published in full in Clark's "Religious History," in *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. ii, pp. 241-2. Mr. Hart returned to Charleston from "Mobeille," and was elected Assistant Minister of St. Michael's, his connection beginning June 2, 1765, and ending by his resignation June 2, 1770.—*See* Parish Church of St. Michael, in *Charleston Year Book*, 1886, pp. 295, 314.

Christ Church, Mobile, was organized in 1825, but had no minister until December, 1827.

Christ Church, Tuskaloosa, was organized by the Rev. Robert Davis, on January 7th, 1828.

The Primary Convention for the organization of the Diocese was held in Mobile on January 25th, 1830, Bishop Thomas Church Brownell, of Connecticut, presiding.

The Diocese was admitted into union with the General Convention in 1832.

Bishop Brownell remained Provisional Bishop until 1840. He did not visit Alabama after 1835. Acting as his Commissaries, Bishop James Hervey Otey (1800-1863), of Tennessee, visited the Diocese in 1836, and Bishop Jackson Kemper (1789-1870) in 1837.

In 1840 the Rt. Rev. Leonidas Polk became Provisional Bishop.

On October 20th, 1844, the Rev. N. H. Cobbs, D. D., born in Va., but then of Ohio, was consecrated first Bishop of Alabama. He worked faithfully and successfully until his death January 11, 1861.

On March 6th, 1862, the Rev. R. H. Wilmer, D. D., of Virginia, was consecrated second Bishop of Alabama. He is still living, and in the spring of 1898 did more work than in any equal period of his earlier life.

On January 21st, 1891, the Rev. H. M. Jackson, D. D., of Virginia, was consecrated Assistant Bishop of Alabama.

"The Society for the Relief of Disabled Clergy and the Widows and Orphans of Deceased Clergy" was organized in 1846. It holds securities amounting in value to $13,000, and has done much good work.

A Fund for the support of the Bishop of the Diocese without taxation of Parishes was instituted in 1836 by the gift of 640 acres of land in Baldwin County, Ala., by Jacob Lorillard, of New York. This fund now holds securities to the value of $39,000, and about $10,000 worth of land in Montgomery, Ala. It contributes annually $1,500 towards the $6,000 paid the two Bishops.

The Diocese expends about $4,000 each year on missionary work within its own borders; only fourteen congregations being entirely self-supporting. This amount is raised by voluntary

contributions based upon individual pledges, and is expended entirely in the payment of salaries to sixteen missionaries.

The following statistics embrace 1830 to 1898, inclusive:
Baptisms, 24,921.
Confirmations, 15,402.
Marriages, 5,574.
Burials, 11,184.
Deacons Made, 75.
Priests Ordained, 63.
Churches Consecrated, 50.

The present condition of the Diocese is:
Parishes, Missions, and Congregations, 100.
Clergy: (Bishops, 2; Priests, 31; Deacons, 5) 38.
Parishioners, (*circa*) 12,117.
Communicants, 7,182.
Total Incomes for 1897-98, $86,527.58.
Of which are ministers' salaries, $29,000.

The following is a

LIST OF PARISHES AND MISSIONS, PRESENT MINISTER, AND DATE OF ADMISSION INTO UNION WITH THE DIOCESE.

Anniston—Grace Church, Joseph F. John, ...1881
Anniston—St. Michael and All Angels, Joseph H. Wheelock,.....1890
Athens—St. Timothy, Erastus W. Spalding, D. D.,.....1881
Auburn—Holy Innocents, R. C. Jeter, ...1890
Bessemer—Trinity Church, Thos. J. Beard, D. D., ...1890
Birmingham—Church of the Advent, John G. Murray, ...1873
Birmingham—St. Mary's Church, O. P. Fitzsimmons, ...1887
Birmingham—St. Mark's Church, Charles W. Hayes,.....1894
Boligee—St. Mark's Church, Wm. H. Mitchell, ...1847
Bon Secour—St. Peter's, Gardiner L. Tucker, ...1888
Camden—St. Mary's Church, Howard R. Walker, ...1855
Carlowville—St. Paul's Church, M. G. Cassell, ...1839
Clayton—Grace Church, Innes O. Adams, ...1872
Decatur—St. Paul's Church (Vacant), ...——
Demopolis—Trinity Church, John A. Harrison, D. D.,.....1835
Eufaula—St. James' Church, Innes O. Adams, ...1845
Eutaw—St. Stephen's Church, Wm. H. Mitchell,.....1846
Evergreen—St. Mary's Church, Geo. R. Upton. 1870
Faunsdale—St. Michael's, Wm. A. Stickney, ...1853
Florence—Trinity Church, Henry Kingham, ...1841
Forkland—St. John's Church, Wm. H. Mitchell, ...1881
Gainesville—St. Alban's Church, Wm. H. Mitchell, ...1858
Gallion—St. Andrew's Church, Richard H. Cobbs, D. D.,.....1844
Greensboro—St. Paul's Church, Richard H. Cobbs, D. D., ...1830
Greenville—St. Thomas' Church, Geo. R. Upton, ...1866
Hayneville—St. Andrew's Church, Geo. R. Upton, ...1873

Huntsville—Church of the Nativity, J. M. Banister, D. D., ... 1843
Jacksonville—St. Luke's Church, W. L. Mellichampe, ... 1849
Livingston—St. James' Church, Jno. J. Harris, ... 1836
Lowndesboro—St. Paul's Church, Geo. R. Upton, ... 1866
Marion—St. Wilfrid's Church, Bertram E. Brown, ... 1838
Mobile—Christ Church, Joseph L. Tucker, D. D., ... 1830
Mobile—Trinity Church, D. C. Peabody, ... 1847
Mobile—St. John's Church, Gardiner C. Tucker, D. D., ... 1854
Mobile—Church of the Good Shepherd, James J. N. Thompson, ... ——
Montgomery—St. John's Church (Vacant), ... 1837
Montgomery—Church of the Holy Comforter, Stewart McQueen, .. 1864
New Decatur—St. John's Church, Erastus W. Spalding, D. D., ... ——
Opelika—Emanuel Church, R. C. Jeter, ... 1867
Piedmont—Christ Church, W. L. Mellichampe, ... ——
Prattville—St. Mark's (Vacant), ... 1877
Pushmataha—Calvary Church (Vacant), ... 1859
Selma—St. Paul's Church, R. W. Barnwell, ... 1838
Scottsboro—St. Luke's Church (Vacant), ... 1881
Sheffield—Grace Church, Henry Kingham, ... 1888
Spring Hill—St. Paul's Church, Bishop Wilmer, ... 1859
Talladega—St. Peter's Church, J. Coleman Horton, ... 1874
Tilden—Grace Church, M. G. Cassell, ... 1869
Trinity Station—Grace Church (Vacant), ... 1877
Tuscumbia—St. John's Church, Henry Kingham, ... ——
Tuscaloosa—Christ Church, Walter C. Whitaker, ... 1830
Troy—St. Mark's Church, J. J. D. Hall, ... ——
Union Springs—Trinity Church, J. J. D. Hall, ... ——
Uniontown—Church of the Holy Cross, Bertram E. Brown, ... 1845
Whistler—St. Paul's Church, Gardiner L. Tucker, ... 1871

MISSIONS.

Avondale—Christ Church Mission, O. P. Fitzsimmons, ... 1890
Bridgeport—(Vacant), ... ——
Carbon Hill and Galloway—St. James' Mission, Thos. J. Beard, D. D., 1897
Cedar Hill—St. Paul's Mission, Howard R. Walker, ... 1895
Citronelle—St. Thomas' Church, Gardiner L. Tucker, ... ——
Columbia—St. Paul's Mission, Innes O. Adams, ... ——
Fort Payne—St. Luke's Mission (Vacant), ... 1891
Gadsden—The Mission of the Holy Comforter, J. F. Goldman, ... 1891
Montevallo—Mission (Vacant), ... 1888
Montgomery—The Annunciation (Vacant), ... ——
Montgomery—The Holy Innocents, Stewart McQueen, ... ——
Mount Meigs—Grace Church Mission, R. C. Jeter, ... 1893
Orrville—Mission, M. G. Cassell, ... 1893
Perdue Hill—Howard R. Walker, ... 1893
Stanton—M. G. Cassell, ... ——
Syllacauga—J. Coleman Horton, ... ——
Tyler's—St. Peter's Mission, M. G. Cassell, ... 1895
Woodlawn—Grace Church Mission, Thos. J. Beard, D. D., ... ——

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

By the Editor.

The literature of the Church is not extensive. In the lists below are presented such references as have been found both as to Churches and the Clergy. The special work of the several ministers, so far as known at the time of compilation, is presented in Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*, under their respective names.

The Church.

Under the title *History of the Protestant Church in Alabama 1763-1891* (Birmingham, Roberts & Son, 1898). Rev. Walter C. Whitaker, one of the compilers of the foregoing paper, has presented "a history, not of bishops, priests, or parishes, but of a diocesan Church." He rigidly sacrifices detail to comprehensiveness of statement, and but little can be learned through his work of the parishes of the Diocese, or of the Clergy who have labored in the field from the beginning. Within the limits, however, which the author set for himself, his work attains *a high standard of excellence.*

Bishop Wilmer's *Reminiscences of a Grandfather* (New York, 1887) is autobiogrpaical and has much *passim*, relating to the Church.

Thomas H. Clark's "Religious History," in *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. ii, pp. 241-2, contains a very meagre account of the Protestant Churches of the State.

In Rev. Greenough White's *Saint of the Southern Church* there is of course to be found much Diocesan history.

The struggle of the Church for the election of a Bishop is set forth in a paper styled "Our First Bishop," by Rev. W. C. Whitaker in the Montgomery *Advertiser*, Nov. 11, 1894, reprinted from the *Church Record.*

In 1894, "A Question of Ministerial Prerogative" arose between the Rector, Rev. J. L. Tucker, and the Vestry of St. John's Church, Mobile. This attracted attention all over the country; and the conclusion was printed as the *Debate and Findings of the Standing Committee of the Diocese of Alabama with the Bishop's Decision* (Mobile, 1895, 8vo. pp. 83.). Bishop Wilmer has stated that in no other single publication can there be found so clear a presentation of Church law. It appears that the brunt of the clerical argument fell on Mr. Tucker, whose contentions were sustained.

The contest just after the Civil War between Bishop Wilmer and the military authorities in Alabama, arising from the issuance of the celebrated "pastoral letter" to his clergy in which he "told them that 'the prayer for all those in civil authority' was out of place and utterly incongruous under the present state of affairs," is quite fully drawn out in his *Reminiscences*, etc., pp. 139-147. It is also carefully gone over, with the original documents, in Whitaker's *History*, etc., pp. 171-187. The *Journals* of the Diocese have "a very full statement of the whole matter." There is a brief synoptical view in the *Centennial History of the Church in America.*

Rev. George M. Everhart has prepared a *History of Hamner Hall* (1887), the former Church school. Other educational efforts are reviewed in Whitaker.

The Diocesan *Journals* appear annually. For full list, with bibliographical detail, *see* Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama.* Several complete sets of these Journals are preserved.

The following Church periodicals have been published: *The Church Register*, 1868, edited by Rev. J. H. Ticknor; *The Old Church Path*, 1878-1882, edited by Rev. George H. Hunt; *The Alabama Churchman*, 1888-9, edited by Rev. L. W. Rose; and the *Church Record of Alabama*, 1892-99, edited by Rev. W. C. Whitaker.

The Clergy.

The references below do not extend to general compilations, such as Appleton's *Cyclopedia of Biography*, or Lloyd's *Clerical Directory.* Probably some titles have escaped attention.

Rev. Nicholas Hamner Cobbs was the first Bishop of the Diocese. He is fortunate in having Rev. Greenough White, Sewanee, Tenn., as a biographer. In *A Saint of the Southern Church* (New York, James Pott & Co., 1898, 8vo. pp. 183.) he delineates with master skill the life and work of this now sainted servant of the Most High. On May 4, 1861, the Rev. Geo. F. Cushman, Rector of St. Luke's Church, Cahaba,

preached a memorial sermon on his life—"The Israelite without guile"—before the Convention of the Diocese (8vo. pp. 37.). Extracts from this sermon are in Wilmer's *Reminiscences*, p. 249, *et. seq.* Bishop Henry C. Lay, of Ark., published in the *Church Review*, c. 1861, an appreciative sketch. In Rev. Philip Slaughter's *Bristol Parish* (2nd ed. 1879) pp. 45-51, and in Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 458-9, will be found short sketches. In Whitaker there is much pertaining to his ministerial life, with *portrait*. There is also a *portrait* in Wilmer, p. 242.

The second Bishop was Rev. R. H. Wilmer, who is now living. An account of his consecration is to be found in the *Life* of Bishop Meade, the last official act of this venerable prelate. In his *Recent Past from a Southern Standpoint. Reminiscences*, etc., (New York, 1887, 8vo. pp. 281), the Bishop reveals to us his strength of thought and intellectuality, with glimpses from the inner life. The book deals with "matters political, sectional, social, and ecclesiastical," with engaging frankness and courage. It contains his *portrait*. Whitaker has the work of his episcopate, with *portrait*.

The Assistant Bishop of the Diocese is Rev. Henry Melville Jackson, of whose life there is an account in Brant and Fuller's *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 695.

An interesting and touching sketch of Rev. A. A. Muller, one of the earliest rectors of Christ Church, Tuscaloosa, is given in William R. Smith's *Reminiscences* (1889), pp. 161-170.

An edition of the *Select Sermons* of Rev. Nathaniel P. Knapp, rector of Christ Church, Mobile, was issued by Rev. Wm. Johnson, rector of Christ Church, Tuscaloosa (Phila., 1855, 8vo. pp. 502), with "a brief sketch," and *portrait*. There are fifty-nine sermons.

In Teeple and Smith's *Jefferson County and Birmingham* (1887) are biographies of Rev. Thomas J. Beard, D. D., pp. 218-220, and of Rev. James Alexander Van Hoose, pp. 470-472, both of Birmingham.

In Smith and DeLand's *Northern Alabama* (1888) are sketches of Rev. John Munro Banister, Huntsville, p. 272; Rev. Robert W. Barnwell, Selma, p. 696; Rev. Stephen U. Smith, Eutaw, p. 201; and Rev. James H. Stringfellow, Tuscaloosa, p. 547.

In Brant and Fuller's *Memorial Record of Alabama* (1894) are biographical sketches of Rev. O. P. Fitzsimmons, Birmingham, vol. ii, p. 877; Rev. J. F. Smith, Prattville, vol. ii, p. 983; Dr. Horace Stringfellow, Montgomery, vol. ii, p. 751, and Rev. Gardiner C. Tucker, Mobile, p. 608.

There is a sketch of Rev. Innes O. Adams, Eufaula, in Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Central Arkansas* (1889), pp. 148-9.

In the Trade edition of the *Florence Herald*, Oct. 14, 1897, is a short account of the life work of Rev. Henry Kingham, Florence, with *portrait*.

William Gilmore Simms' *Mellichampe, a Legend of the Santee* (1836) has an account of the ancestors of Rev. W. Lawton Mellichampe, of Jacksonville.

Parishes.

Of the several parishes there are few satisfactory histories. Such as are extant fail in many of the essentials desired in local history writing; and all are parts of general works. No emphasis whatever appears to be laid on the development and presentation of the spiritual side of parish life.

Christ Church, Mobile, the oldest church in the Diocese, issues *Year Books* (8vo) regularly, the first being printed for 1883. This initial number has a valuable collection of "Historical Reminiscences of Christ Church Parish. Contributed by several of the older members."

Christ Church, Tuscaloosa, the next in order of date, in 1894, published a *Year Book* (8vo, pp. 52), prepared by the rector, Rev. W. C. Whitaker, in which are many interesting facts. There is a mere reference to the existence of this church in Smith and DeLand's *Northern Alabama*, p. 515.

A more than local sketch of the Church of the Advent, Birmingham, is in Teeple and Smith's *Jefferson County and Birmingham* (1887), pp. 212-218. It presents conditions and elements of church growth, the clergy, buildings, etc.

Blue's *Churches of Montgomery* (1878), pp. 36-44, has a full and exhaustive account of St. John's, Montgomery, with ministers, work of the vestry and buildings.

The history of St. Paul's, Selma, with an account of the laying of the cornerstone March 20, 1839, is given by Hardy in *Selma; her Institutions and her Men* (1879), pp. 34, 122-124.

Little's *History of Butler County* (1885), p. 89, has brief notice of St. Thomas, Greenville.

Smith and DeLand's *Northern Alabama* (1888), a miscellaneous collection of county and town sketches and biographies, contains meager accounts of Grace Church, Anniston, p. 474; St. Paul's, Greeensboro, p 557; St. Mark's, Troy, p. 724; and St. John's, Tuscumbia, p. 429. In 1862 the Federal Army occupied the last named church building, and destroyed "a large part of the Register, hence only a partial record is preserved, 1858-1866."

"Old St. Luke's Parish, Cahaba," is the subject of a paper in the *Church Record*, reprinted in the Montgomery *Advertiser*, June 10, 1894. The Parish Register is preserved in Selma.

Snedicor's *Directory of Greene County* (1856), then including what is now Hale county, has a list, showing location, pastors, and number of communicants in the churches of the county, p. 58.

Tharin's *Directory of Marengo* (1861), p. 47, has the same for that county.

XI. THE ALABAMA-MISSISSIPPI BOUNDARY.

By John Hollis Bankhead,[1] of Fayette.

The following letter is contributed for the purpose of adding some new facts to an important subject—the State's boundaries, but more especially to call attention to the mass of valuable material relating to Alabama, stored in the Government archives. The extent of the collections in these repositories cannot be appreciated until effort at location is directed to specific subjects, as in the present case.

The various Departments, owing to the increased demands for the use of the material in their keeping, have been stimulated to an exploration of its extent, and the preparation of printed and other indexes to its character and location. It is, therefore, practically easy to determine, on application, whether or not particular items of information are to be found. Access is also

[1] J. H. Bankhead, son of James Greer and Susan Flemming (*Hollis*) Bankhead, was born in Moscow, Marion County (now Lamar), Ala., Sept. 13, 1842. Paternally he is Scotch-Irish, James Bankhead emigrating from North Ireland prior to the Revolutionary War, and settling on Broad River, Union District, South Carolina. He was a large land owner, and the principal founder of the old town of Pinckneyville. His wife was Elizabeth Black. Of nine children, George Bankhead married Jane Greer (daughter of Wm. Greer and Mary McCurdy), and moving Westward, finally located in Marion County, Ala., where he reared his family and died. His son, James Greer Bankhead, married Susan Flemming Hollis, daughter of Col. John Hollis and Letitia Holliday, son of John Hollis (a Capt. in the Revolutionary War), and Margaret Knighton. The Hollis family is English, emigrating first to Maryland and thence to Fairfield District, S. C., and thence to Ala. He is self educated. He served four years in the Confederate Army in the 16th Regt., Ala. Vol. Inf., and was three times wounded. After the war he had various business interests; represented Marion County in the General Assembly for the sessions of 1865-66, 1866-67; was a member of the State Senate, 1876-77; and of the House of Representatives for Lamar County, 1880-81; and was Warden of the Alabama Penitentiary from 1881 to 1885. He has been successively a member of the 50th, 51st, 52d, 53d, 54th, 55th, and 56th Congresses from the Sixth Alabama District. His wife is Tallulah James, daughter of James and Elizabeth *(Starley)* Brockman, old Greenville, S. C., families. For a more extended sketch *see* Teeple and Smith's *Jefferson County and Birmingham* (1887), pp. 442-3. For latest sketch, with portrait, see Tuscaloosa *Times*, 68th Anniversary and Trade Edition, May 12, 1899. For ancestry of his wife's family *see* "Bryant Lester, of Lunenburg Co., Va., and his Descendants," by Thomas M. Owen, in *Publications* Southern History Association, April, 1897, vol. i, pp. 127-137.

easily obtainable, either for examination or copying, so far as the use of the papers and records does not interfere with current work. In some instances, as the Pension Bureau, a special force is employed to respond to inquiries by the public.[2]

It is understood that the ALABAMA HISTORY COMMISSION will make an exhaustive examination and report on all of these materials so far as they pertain to the State.

F. W. Mondell to John H. Bankhead.

DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR,
GENERAL LAND OFFICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C., *August 30, 1898.*

Hon. J. H. Bankhead,
Fayette, Alabama.

SIR: I am in receipt of your letter dated July 27, 1898, referring to the Act of March 2, 1819, (3 [U. S.] Stats., 489) providing for the admission[3] of Alabama into the Union, the 2d section of which you say specifies that the western boundary, in part, shall run due south from the N. W. corner of Washington County to the Gulf of Mexico, but as a matter of fact it runs S. E. to the Gulf, which fact finds explanation in the discretion given the surveyors in the 3d section of the act, which provides that the line can be run S. E. if it "will encroach on the counties of Wayne" etc., in Mississippi, and you ask for copies of all papers

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[2] Mrs. Ellen Hardin Walworth discussing the "Value of National Archives" before the American Historical Association, July, 1893, says: "The Government of the United States, with all the excuses which have been presented, still appears to have been culpably negligent in the collection and preservation of the National archives."—*Report, 1893*, p. 31.

Mr. A. Howard Clark, of the Smithsonian Institution, after describing to the same body, Dec., 1894, "What the United States Government has done for History," declares that "No nation ever possessed more complete records of its history, than are now preserved in the Federal and State archives," etc., and also "Though the Government has done so much, yet much more remains undone."—*Report, 1894*, p. 552. At the same session, Mr. Andrew H. Allen reported on "The Historical Archives of the Department of State."—*Ibid*, p. 281-298.

There are a number of Government *Reports* which indicate the special nature of collections in the several Departments. But the best general account is given in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America*, vol. viii, pp. 413-426, in an appendix on manuscript sources, etc., in Federal archives, where all special references to particular location and character of material are given.

[3] For Act creating Alabama Territory, March 3, 1817, *see U. S. Stat. at Large*, vol. iii, p. 371, and for Alabama Enabling Act *see Ibid*, p. 489 *et seq.* A general discussion of all boundaries of Alabama is to be found in Gannett's *Boundaries of the United States* (1885), pp. 102-103.

or reports whatever made by the surveyors in running the boundary, and if the same has been printed you request to be advised as to where it can be found.

In reply, I have the honor to state that the matter relating to the survey of the boundary line between Alabama and Mississippi is not in printed form.

Upon examining the records and files of this office considerable data with reference to the subject is found.

There are on file about 60 photolithographic copies of plats of townships and fractional townships in the western part of Alabama showing the boundary line and the connections or closings of section lines on said boundary line.

Uncertified photolithographic copies of these plats will be furnished at the rate of 25 cents for each plat or $15 for all. If certified photolithographic copies are desired, the fee will be 50 cents per plat and 10 cents for a revenue stamp on each plat, or $36 for the 60 plats, duly certified including the revenue stamps.

Other papers are found as follows:

1. A copy of plat, certified to by John Coffee surveyor general for Alabama under date of June 26, 1822, of the survey of that part of the boundary line from the mouth of Bear Creek on the Tennessee River to the N. W. corner of Washington County, executed by James W. Exum. The fee for a certified tracing of this plat is $5.10.

2. Map of that part of said boundary line from the Choctaw boundary south to the Gulf of Mexico, made under the direction of Thomas Freeman, a certified tracing of which will be furnished for $9.10.

3. Map showing a portion of the townships through which the line passes, (Ts. 11 to 20, Rs. 16 & 17 W., Alabama). The photolithographic copies of plats above described give more complete data than the map, but if a certified tracing of said map is desired, the fee therefore is $6.10.

4. Field notes of the survey of that part of the boundary line between Alabama and Mississippi, from the mouth of Bear Creek to the N. W. corner of Washington County, executed by James W. Exum and examined and approved by John Coffee, surveyor general, October 12, 1820.

The estimated cost of a certified copy of the above described field notes, is $17.10 including the revenue stamp.

In addition to the above the following papers are found, viz: [1] Copies of Instructions to James W. Exum, dated April 28, 1820, from Thomas Freeman to the Commissioner of General relative to the survey of said boundary line; [2] copy of Agreement, dated May 29, 1820, between John Coffee, surveyor general, of Alabama, and Thomas Freeman, surveyor of U. S. lands south of Tennessee, as to what portions of the line should be run under each ones direction; [3] letter dated September 30, 1820, from Thomas Freeman to the Commissioners of General Land Office, transmitting certain papers; [4] letter from John Coffee, dated October 12, 1820, to the Commissioner of the General Land Office transmitting papers in regard to the matter; [5] letter from Thomas Freeman dated September 30, 1820, to the Commissioner of the General Land Office transmitting a map of that portion of the boundary line extending from the Choctaw boundary line to the Gulf of Mexico; [6] letter from John Coffee, dated October 12, 1820, to the Commissioners of the General Land Office stating the cause of delay in making his report of the survey; [7] letter from John Coffee to James W. Exum appointed him a surveyor to run and mark the boundary line from the mouth of Bear Creek on the Tennessee River to the N. W. corner of Washington County, Alabama; [8] letter from the Commissioner of the General Land Office dated November 2, 1820, addressed to the Secretary of the Treasury transmitting a map and field notes of the boundary line, also other papers.

If you desire certified copies of these last named papers an estimate of the cost thereof will be furnished you, and should you desire them please state whether you wish them certified under separate seals or whether if they are certified under one seal they will answer your purpose, as the fee charged will be at the rate of 15 cents per hundred words for the copies and $1 additional for the certificate and seal of this office with an extra charge of 10 cents for a revenue stamp to be attached to each certificate.

Very respectfully,

(Signed) F. W. Mondell,

Acting Commissioner.

SURVEYORS-GENERAL.

By the Editor.

The office of Surveyor-General was one of much importance. The Mississippi Territory was created April 7, 1798, but it was not until March 3, 1803, that Congress passed the first of a long series of Acts in relation to public lands in its limits. This Act provided for "a surveyor of lands of the United States south of the State of Tennessee."—United States *Statutes at Large*, vol. ii, p. 229.

(1) Isaac Briggs, of Md., was appointed to this position April 7, 1803, and permanently commissioned Nov. 18, 1803. On March 2, 1805, the public lands in the Territory of Orleans was placed in this district.—*Ibid*, vol. ii, p. 324.

(2) Seth Pease, of the District of Columbia, succeeded Briggs, March 2, 1807. On April 12, 1812, the district was further enlarged by the addition of the public lands south of the line 31° north latitude and between the Mississippi and Perdido rivers.—*Ibid*, vol. ii, p. 713.

(3) Thomas Freeman, born in Ireland, succeeded Pease, Aug. 27, 1810, was permanently commissioned Jan. 10, 1811, and continued in office until his death in 1821. He was an excellent man. *See* sketch in Claiborne's *Mississippi* (1880), p. 207, *note*.

(4) On March 3, 1817, an additional surveyor was provided for the public lands in the Northern district of Mississippi Territory.—U. S. *Stat. at Large*, vol. iii, p. 375. To this position Gen. John Coffee, of Tenn. (born in Prince Edward Co., Va.) was appointed March 6, 1817. On April 20, 1818, the limits of the district were restricted to Alabama Territory. —U. S. *Stat. at Large*, vol. iii, p. 446. He was successively commissioned for Alabama Feb. 17, 1823, Jan. 10, 1827, and July 9, 1831. He died in office July 7, 1833. He was a man of superior attainments. A valuable sketch of him prepared by Col. James E. Saunders, is in Smith and DeLand's *Northern Alabama* (1888), pp. 298-306; *steel portrait*.

(5) James H. Weakley succeeded Coffee, July 20, 1833.

The list of surveyors-general on p. 171 of Thomas Donaldson's *Public Domain* (1884) is unreliable. The foregoing facts have been gleaned from the office of the State Department, the General Land Office, and the Statutes at Large.

XII. CREEK WAR INCIDENTS.

By Henry Sale Halbert,[1] of Crawford, Miss.

INTRODUCTION.

The incidents narrated below, while of a minor character, cannot fail of interest as being in the main a contribution of new facts, and of additional facts as to well known events. They are all believed to be authentic.

The facts, except as to the Holy Ground and Seekaboo, were obtained from Rev. Josiah Allen and his brother Henry, sons of Drury Allen, who early settled in South Alabama and participated in the stirring events of the Creek War. These brothers were men of intelligence and well preserved memories. They were in the midst of all the events they described, and have on more than one occasion narrated these as well as other occurences with remarkable clearness.[2]

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[1] H. S. Halbert, son of Percival and Jane (*Owen*) Halbert, was born three miles northwest of old Yorkville, Pickens Co., Ala., Jan. 14, 1837. He was educated at Union University under the Presidency of Dr. J. H. Eaton. Later he went to Texas, and during the greater part of 1860 was in a Regiment of Texas State Troops, commanded by Col. M. T. Johnson. Attached to this command were several companies of friendly Indians from the Washita Agency, being composed of Caddoes, Absentee Shawnees, Delawares, Tonkaways, Kechies and Wacoes. The chiefs Placido and Jose Maria commanded respectively the Tonkaways and Caddo tribes. He was in several campaigns against the Comanches and Kioways. In 1861 he again served in the Indian campaigns, but in the battalion of Maj. Dalrymple. Enlisting in the summer of 1861 in the 6th Texas Regiment, C. S. Vols., he saw continuous service until disabled by a wound at New Hope, Ga., May 26, 1864. After eight months he recovered and returned to his command and served until the close of hostilities. Since the war he has been teaching; and for the past few years he has devoted his time almost wholly to educational work among the Mississippi Choctaws. He has done much valuable historical work, and has devoted some attention to archaeology. For account of his literary work *see* Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama*, pp. 959-960.

[2] Drury Allen emigrated from Edgefield District, S. C., to South Alabama in 1811 or 12, bringing his wife, who was Miss Margaret Waite, and five children. His son, Rev. Josiah Allen was born Jan. 20, 1800, and when not fourteen years of age enlisted in Sam Dale's Company. He was a Congregational Methodist minister, and died at his home in the southwest corner of Jasper County, Miss., Dec., 1891. Henry Allen, another son, was born in 1801, and died in Jasper county, 1893. An account of the Allen family emigration is narrated in Ball's *Clarke County, Alabama* (1882), pp. 317-319.

The Holy Ground Incident was received from Mr. Spencer Wade, aged about 77 years, now living near Lake Como, Jasper County, Miss., the son of Reddin Wade, who was in the battle of the Holy Ground.

The fate of Seekaboo was learned from a very reliable and upright Indian, Hemonubbee, whom the writer interviewed ten years ago, in response to a suggestion from the late Dr. Lyman C. Draper, eminent as author and collector. The statements were voluntary.[3]

I. CAPT. SAM DALE.[4]

About the middle of July, 1813, soon after Fort Glass was completed, Captain Sam Dale and his brother James Dale arrived there. They were on the point of returning to Georgia, when the citizens recognizing Dale as a good officer, begged him to stay with them, offering to give him the command of the fort. Dale hesitated for some time. At last, he said, "Well my life is no more valuable than any body else's, so I will stay with you." He was fortwith unanimously elected to command the fort. This explains why Dale was in command at this point. Rev. Josiah Allen, of Jasper County, Miss., and his brother Henry Allen, among others, were present.

On the morning of the last day's march to the Holy Ground, one of Dale's men was attacked with a severe illness and fell back to the rear with a comrade, Drury Allen, (father of Josiah and Henry Allen above), who agreed to stay with him and take care of him. Both followed slowly in the track of the advancing army. About dark, this fact was reported to Dale, who instantly took two or three men, and with a supply of lightwood torches, for the night was very dark, started back in quest of the belated men. He fortunately met them within a mile of the Holy Ground slowly making their way to camp. This little incident is per-

[3] Hemonubbee was the son of Fillamotubbee, one of Pushmataha's warriors. He died in 1889, aged about 90, at his old home eight miles southeast of Philadelphia, Neshoba County, Miss. His farm was on the south side of Cushtusha creek. He was married several times and has numerous descendants in Miss. and in the Choctaw Nation. A sister, in the 30's, married a Scotch Indian agent, Hugh McDonald, and became the ancestor of the McDonald Indians in south Neshoba.

[4] His career is fully portrayed in J. F. H. Claiborne's *Life and Times of Gen. Sam. Dale* (New York, 1860, 12mo, pp. 133; ills.). An extended review of this work appeared in the Georgia University *Magazine*, which was reprinted in the Dallas (Ala.) *Gazette*, March 24, 1854.

haps worthy of being placed on record, as it illustrates Dale's kindness of heart and his regard for his soldiers.

2. THE FIRST BLOOD SHED IN CLARKE COUNTY.

The place where the first blood was shed in Clarke county was half a mile west of the nine mile post on the Suggsville and Choctaw Corner road, and, according to the statements of some it occurred before the Burnt Corn expedition. The account is, that a party of citizens, among them James Smith and Mark Hayes, while looking up some cattle, came across three Indians whom they disarmed and turned over to the care of Smith and Hayes, with the understanding that when they returned from their cow hunt, they would take their captives to Fort Sinquefield. Smith and Hayes soon noticed that their captives were conversing in low tones with each other and casting significant glances towards their (the Indians') guns, which were left carelessly stacked against a tree. Almost before the guard was aware of it, the Indians simultaneously sprang towards the tree. Hayes instantly shot one dead. Smith sprang forward, jerked up one of the Indian's guns—a light shotgun—and at the same time, seized one of the Indians with his left hand. With the gun held pistol fashion he shot down the third Indian, who seing that he could not get to the guns had begun to retreat. Then, instantly drawing his knife, he stabbed the second Indian to the heart. All this was the work of a few seconds and was considered a remarkable achievement. Whether the incident related by Meek in *Romantic Passages in Southern History*, pp. 309-310, is another version of this event, or whether they were two separate, though similar affairs, is not known. Smith lived one and a half miles south-west of the present Suggsville.

3. THE CANOE FIGHT.[5]

Pickett, Meek and other writers are silent as to the purpose of the presence of the Creeks down on the Alabama River at the time and place when the Canoe fight occurred. This was not

[5] Jeremiah Austill, one of the participants, has an account of this episode —The Canoe Fight—in *Alabama Historical Reporter*, Aug., 1884. *See also* for account, written by him, in *Fayette (Ala.) Journal*, July 23, 1886, *reprinted* from the *Clarke County Democrat*, 1886. *See also* Meek's *Romantic Passages*, etc., pp. 295-322; Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, pp. 304-328; Halbert and Ball's *Creek War*, Chapter xvii; Ball's *Clarke County, Ala.*, pp. 166-170; Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 435, 437-9; and Claiborne's *Life of Dale, passim.*

a strictly military movement on the part of the Creeks, but simply a foraging expedition. That the Creeks had come down the Alabama River with several large boats or canoes to load with corn and carry back to the Holy Ground. They came from the Holy Ground, and intended to take the corn which they gathered off the plantations back to that point. Mr. Ball (*Creek War*) simply says it was a foraging expedition, without other comment. James Cornells received this information from the Creeks after the war.

As will be noticed there were nine men on the east side of the Alabama River during the progress of the Canoe fight. Their names were: Lieut. Walter Creagh, Drury Allen, Jonathan Embree, William Foster, John Bradley, John Campbell, John Elliott, John Graham, and John French.

Caesar, or Jim Caesar, as he was often called, who may be considered as one of the participants of the Canoe Fight, some time after the Creek war was bought by Capt. Sam Dale. After Dale's death, he fell by inheritance to his brother James Dale. When the latter died in 1843, Caesar was bought by William White, the Sheriff of Lauderdale county, Miss., in whose family he lived until 1865. He died in the spring of 1866, and now lies buried somewhere near the centre of Kemper County, Miss. For many years prior to his death, he was a worthy member of the Methodist church. In his version of the Canoe Fight, Caesar always said that Smith did most of the fighting. The latter died about 1850, near Enterprise, Miss.

4. THE HOLY GROUND.[6]

After the Creeks were routed and driven across the river at the Holy Ground, several of the soldiers expressed a desire to follow up the victory by making an excursion over on the other

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In the last will be found a picture of the "Fight;" and in the *Creek War*, p. 240, is a likeness of Mr. Austill. His son, Judge Huriosco Austill, Mobile, has an oil painting of him, executed only a few years after this period. Meek gives biographical sketches of Dale, Smith and Austill in his *Romantic Passages*, etc.

[6] "The site of Holy Ground Town is about two miles north of the present town of White Hall [Lowndes Co.]. Holy Ground Creek rises near White Hall and flows northward to the Alabama River. On nearing the river, which here runs nearly west, the creek deflects somewhat to the northeast before emptying into the river. Within this horseshoe or peninsula formed by the creek and the river stood Holy Ground Town."—Halbert and Ball's *Creek War*, pp. 247-8.

"Echanachaca, or Holy Ground, was the residence of Weatherford.

shore. One of the officers, willing to gratify this desire, offered a reward of fifty dollars to any one who would swim the river, seize one of the Indian canoes tied on the other shore and return with it. Two of the soldiers accepted the proposition with the understanding that their comrades should protect them by keeping a sharp look out and to fire upon any Creek warriors that should appear in view. They accordingly plunged into the river, but after swimming a short distance, one of the men returned, finding the water too cold for him. His comrade, however, persevered, reached the shore, took possession of a canoe, and returned in it to the eastern bank. By making several trips across the river, and at each trip bringing back more canoes, sufficient number was finally collected, in which quite a large party of whites and Choctaws crossed over to the hostile side. They made a thorough search in the cane-brakes, and found, in several places, a large quantity of Creek baggage and many of their ponies. Such of the baggage as could not well be appropriated or utilized was destroyed. The Choctaws made a special appropriation of the Creek ponies. After securing all the booty that was desirable, the party returned to the eastern shore, nearly every Choctaw being the happy owner of a pony, which he managed to make swim over.

The burning of the Holy Ground town took place after the return of the party from this expedition.

A short time after the battle—perhaps one or two days—there arose much dissatisfaction among the Creeks in regard to the issue of the battle which had terminated so utterly contrary to the predictions of their prophets. To allay the murmurings of their

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The location of this spot has been, with some, a subject of uncertainty. Eaton, in his *Life of Jackson*, confounds it with the Hickory Ground, in the fork of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, and tradition has, in part, adopted the error. The Holy Ground proper, however, was situated along the south bank of the Alabama, between Pintlala and Big Swamp Creeks, in the present county of Lowndes. It received its name from being the residence of the principal prophets of the nation, and having been by them consecrated from the intrusion of white men. Wizard circles were described around its borders, and the credulous inhabitants were assured that no enemy could tread upon its soil without being blasted. It was emphatically called the 'Grave of White Men.' A more fertile and beautiful tract of country, especially when clothed with the vegetation of spring-time, does not exist in our State; and it was thickly populated by the aborigines. Near the mouth of Pintlala, stood a village of eighty wigwams. The chief town, a few miles below, contained two hundred houses; and here the council house of the Alabama tribe was situated."—Meek's *Romantic Passages*, etc., pp. 278-279.

people, and at the same time to find an opening for recovering their lost oracular prestige, one of the prophets thereupon announced that there was a traitor at the Holy Ground, who, by his counter charms and incantations, had destroyed the potency of those powerful spells, whereby, as they had supposed, the Holy Ground had been rendered impregnable and impervious to all the assaults of the white man; and that it was surely in consequence of such treason that the whites had been able to capture the place. To test the truth of this matter, the prophet ordered a large fire to be made, and then gave directions that all, prophets and warriors, should form a circle, one standing behind the other, around the sacred fire, and then march a number of times around the fire, and that at the close of the last circuit, the man upon whom, the greatest amount of soot had fallen must be the guilty one and that he must be put to death. It should be remembered that in the symbolism of the red man, black, as in the blackness of soot, was considered a death emblem.

The prophet's instructions were carried out to the very letter. One man, of course, was adjudged to have received the greatest amount of soot, and was at once put to death in due form. The superstitious element among the Creeks, no doubt, really believed, that by this ordeal prescribed by the prophet, the judgment of the Great Spirit was really visited upon the Muscogee traitor. Their shrewd prophets, however, looking deeper into the matter, knew full well that it was only by such craft that they could regain their lost prestige, which this action seems to have fully restored among their credulous followers.

The foregoing is thoroughly characteristic of Indian human nature and Indian prophets.

Truth compels the statement that the Choctaws acted very barbarously towards the slain Creek warriors at the Holy Ground. They took a special pleasure in tying their bodies with grape vines to their ponies' tails. They would then ride the ponies about the camp, dragging the dead warriors at their heels.

5. ABANDONING THE FORTS.

On the return of General Clairborne's army from the Holy Ground, a feeling of relief was felt by the people living in the forts. They began gradually to abandon them, and by early spring

all were back again on their farms. The fall of 1813 was a very unhealthy season to the people living in the forts. The mortality was very great among the children, owing, it is said, to their being confined almost exclusively to a diet of beef and sweet potatoes.

6. JAMES CORNELLS.

James Cornells, a noted Creek half breed, was a man of strong athletic build, but with a face terribly disfigured by the yaws, his mouth being contracted into a very small pucker. He was quiet, peaceable and civil, under ordinary circumstances, but a most desperate man when his resentments were aroused. After the massacre of Fort Mims, he came to Fort Madison, and served in that garrison. Some time in the November following, he rode an express from Fort Madison to Floyd's Army on the Georgia frontier. While on the return trip, he was hotly pursued by a party of Creek warriors. As he halted to water his horse, his rifle on his shoulder, they fired upon him, a ball striking his rifle near his neck, the bullet splitting and the fragments flying in his face and embedding themselves beneath the skin. He was pursued almost to the Alabama River. On reaching the river he dismounted urging his horse in and made him swim the river. Cornells with the despatches in his hat, and it tied securely upon his head, then swam the river behind his horse, holding up the gun stock with one hand so as to keep the lock dry. He arrived at Fort Madison with the dispatches. There he had the fragments of lead picked out of his face. This ride of Cornells was considered, at the time, a very daring exploit.

When Weatherford was at Fort Claiborne, after his surrender, to save him from being killed, Col. Gilbert C. Russell had a guard put over him, and Cornells was one of the party detailed. The latter was under the impression that Weatherford had something to do with the capture of his wife and the burning of his house and corn crib. Accordingly he felt very bitter towards him, and swore that he would kill him if he ever had the opportunity. Weatherford, somehow having heard of Cornells' threats against his life, at first objected to him as a guard. Finally he asked Cornells if he would take any advantage of him while under his charge. "No," said Cornells, "I will take no advantage of you while you are here and I am guarding you. But when

this time is over, I intend to kill you." To this Weatherford replied, "Well, if you will take no advantage of me on this occasion, I will trust myself to you," Afterwards, Cornells finding that Weatherford had nothing to do with the indignity put upon his wife, and the destruction of his property, became reconciled, and they became good friends.

The following are the facts connected with the killing of——— Jones by Cornells, when the latter wished to take possession of his ferry after the war, Jones refused to recognize his title, claiming it, acording to Indian usage, as the property of his wife. He made threats against Cornells' life. One day, when Cornells came into a house situated on the west side of the river to change his clothes, Jones, armed with a gun, galloped up to the door and asked for him. Cornells stepped to the door and said, "Here I am." Jones snapped his gun at him. Cornells instantly turned, jerked a gun down from over the fire place, rushed to the door and shot Jones dead from his horse. He requested not to be arrested for this act, promising that when the day of his trial should come, he would deliver himself up. When all the facts were made known at the trial (under civil laws) Cornells was promptly acquitted.

7. THE FATE OF SEEKABOO, THE SHAWNEE PROPHET.

After the Creek War Seekaboo went to Florida and made his home with some of his Seminole kinsfolk. Whether he was in the seminole war is not known. Some years after the Creek War, probably in the early '20's, Pushmataha with an escort of twelve warriors went to Florida on some tribal business, the exact nature was not known, but it was something pertaining to establishing peaceful relations between the Choctaws and the Seminoles. For this purpose Pushmataha wished to secure the services of Seekaboo as an interpreter, as he knew him well. Upon his arrival among the Seminoles, he found out that Seekaboo had died a year or two before. Not finding any one else competent to serve as an interpreter, Pushmataha returned home. Seekaboo had many acquaintances among the Choctaws.

8. CREEK WAR ADVENTURE.

About noon on the same day, (September 6th) that Josiah Fisher and his sons went out to his farm, Charles Finly, brother-

in-law of Jonathan Embree, with three negroes, one of the negroes being Caesar, one of the participants of the Canoe fight, left Fort Madison to go southwardly in search of a beef steer, which they were instructed to butcher and bring back. Just before starting, Moore, asked them where they would make their camp the coming night, and said that he and his son would go out to Fisher's, and there get some chickens and eggs, and thence come to their camp and help them bring in the beef; and that Fisher and his sons had already gone out to the farm and had given them permission to get the chickens and the eggs. Finly thereupon, appointed as a camping place, a well known large deep ravine, which headed near Sizemore's Ferry, and ran southeastwardly into the river. The beef hunting party then rode off from the fort.

After thoroughly searching the woods they found, late in the afternoon, a herd of cattle on Reedy Creek, some two miles southwest of Sizemore's Ferry. As it was late, they concluded to go on to the appointed camping ground and return the next morning and butcher a beef out of the herd. They soon came to the ravine, entered it and rode up it half a mile. Here they halted, preparatory to making their camp. It was now near sun set. Just then they heard the firing of a gun in the direction of Fisher's house, nearly a mile distance. Caesar said that it was Moore's gun and that he would go out and meet him. Some of the party told him not to do it, that it might not be Moore, but an Indian, who did the firing. If so, and he was to go there, while they would not kill him as he was a negro, they would hold him a prisoner, and would take his horse and gun. Caesar, who was a man of great bravery, persisted in going forward, when one of the other negroes levelled his gun on him and told him if he moved a foot farther, he would shoot him down. This was hardly uttered, when from the same direction came the report of another gun. The suspicious of the party were now strengthened, and even Caesar saw the necessity of discretion. The men then made their camp in the ravine, kindled a small fire and roasted some sweet potatoes, which they got from John Hinson's potato patch, a few hundred yards distant. Moore not coming according to promise, they now feared the worst and were almost convinced that the two guns were fired by Indians. They were on their guard all night, holding their horses by the bridle. As

soon as day break appeared, one of the negroes leaving his horse with his comrades, climbed up out of the ravine and went cautiously eastward towards the river. After going about one hundred and fifty yards he came across the fresh trail of three Indians coming down from the dirction of Fisher's house. Upon going back and reporting this fact, the party not knowing how many Indians might be prowling near by, nor how soon they might fall into an ambuscade, mounted their horses and struck a straight course through the woods to Fort Madison where they arrived about eight o'clock. When within a few hundred yards of the fort, they saw the wounded Ben Fisher just entering the gate. Upon comparing their experiences with Ben, it now seemed very probable to all the parties, that the three Indians, whose trail had been seen, were the very Indians who had fired upon the Fishers.[7] As to Moore, it seems that after the beef hunting party had left the fort, he gave up the intention of going out to Fisher's, which may have been a very fortunate thing for him.

9. CREEK RECONNOISANCE OF FORT MADISON.

Toward the latter part of October, 1813, nine hundred Creek warriors under Weatherford came down the Alabama River from the Holy Ground and camped on the western side of the river, near Jim Cornell's Ferry. Their object was to capture Fort Madison so as to procure a supply of arms and ammunition, as there was a deficiency of war material among the Creeks. To accomplish this they sent out five warriors with instructions to lurk around the Fort, and to watch their opportunity and capture some one of its inmates, and bring them out alive to the Creek camp. By interrogating such captives, they hoped to get all the needful information in regard to the fort, how many soldiers it contained, and the proper time, manner and place to make the assault. After the warriors were sent forth upon this mission, to make assurance doubly sure. Weatherford himself determined to go alone and make some observations. He accordingly dressed himself in a suit of citizen's clothes. Weatherford, while with the hostiles, is said generally to have dressed and painted himself in the Indian style.

It is here necessary to somewhat describe the interior of Fort

[7] An account of the adventure of the Fishers is in Halbert and Ball's *Creek War*, pp. 206-207.

Madison before completing the narrative. The fort was divided by a partition wall, running North and South, into two divisions, or compartments, the eastern and larger division being known as the citizen's fort, as it was occupied by the citizens or militia, and the western division called the soldier's fort, and occupied by Claiborne's men. (This fact is not mentioned by Rev. T. H. Ball in his account of Fort Madison, in the *Creek War.*) At the entrance of the citizens' section, on the south, near the southeast corner, a street ran straight through to the north wall. Another street intersected this street at right angles, running across the interior of the fort from East to West, and at the latter point entering the soldiers' fort on the West, thence to the center of this fort, whence it turned South to a gate in the southern wall. The board cabin of Drury Allen stood a few feet north of the block house, which was in the southeast corner, the door of his cabin facing south. At the northeast corner stood the tent of Josiah Fisher, whose half-breed step-son, Charley Elliott, bore a strong resemblance to William Weatherford.

On the middle of the afternoon of the day on which the five warriors went ont on their mission, Elijah Presnal, who was stationed about two hundred and fifty yards northwest of the fort, fired at one of these warriors, who was a long ways off and partially concealed behind a log. Presnal was not certain at the time of the shot that it was an Indian, as he had only a faint glimpse of the moving and suspicious object; and as no one at the time went out to verify the affair, it was supposed that he was mistaken.

At night, about 8 or 9 o'clock, Henry Allen, a boy about twelve years of age, happended to be sitting near the door in his father, Drury Allen's cabin. Glancing up he saw a man standing in the door-way, with his arms pressed against the facing, and looking earnestly into the cabin. Drury Allen, then in the rear of his cabin, about the same time noticed the intruder, and quickly said to Henry:

"Who is that standing there?" "It is Charley Elliott, father," was the boy's reply. Just then the visitor, or intruder, quickly withdrew from the door-way. Allen instantly arose, took down his gun and exclaimed, "That is Bill Weatherford. It is not Charley Elliott."

With gun in hand, he went out in search of his visitor. Allen

was personally acquainted with Weatherford. While tolerably certain that this man was Weatherford, for fear that he might be mistaken, he refrained from giving the alarm. After a close search over the fort and failing to find the object of his search, Allen returned to his cabin. After leaving Allen's cabin, Weatherford, for it was he, kept along the eastern side of the fort, between the tents and the wall, until he reached Josiah Fisher's tent, which he thoroughly inspected. Thence he kept along the northern wall until he came to the street running south. He entered this street and kept it until he came to the street running west, taking which he entered the Soldier's fort. After thoroughly inspecting this fort, he went out of it by the gate on the south, and thence along the Southern wall until he came to the gate of the citizen's fort. Here on the west side of the gate way, between the ditch and the pickets were tied two horses, one belonging to Drury Allen, the other to Caleb Moncreif.[8] Hanging on the picket wall near by was Jesse Embree's saddle. Weatherford took possession of the saddle and the two horses and returned to the Creek Camp on the Alabama. He reported to his warriors that there were too many soldiers in Fort Madison for them to capture it. In the meanwhile, the five Creek warriors had secreted themselves in the tree tops near Micajah Benge's potato patch.[9]

The next morning very early, Allen and Moncreif, missing their horses, took their guns and started in search of them; and about the same time the two forage wagons left the fort. After a considerable search in the woods, Allen and Moncreif entered the road above Benge's collard and potato patch, and took the South end of it on their way back to the fort. The forage wagons of course had by this time gone some distance beyond the potato patch. Allen and Moncreif as they came to the potato patch, got over into it and grabbled up a few potatoes to take back to the fort. The warriors in the tree tops saw them, but knew that they could not capture two well armed men, so they did not molest them. About half way between the potato patch and the fort, Allen and Moncreif met Beard.[10]

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[8] He came to South Alabama about 1808; *see* Ball's *Clarke County Ala.* (1882), pp. 131, 155 and 387.

[9] For a full description of the locality, and a notice of the detail of wagons sent to gather corn, *see Creek War*, pp. 223-224.

[10] The story of Beard is given in full in the *Creek War*, pp. 223-226.

The next day Drury Allen's missing horse returned to the fort, his mane and tail matted with cockle-burs, showing that he had come from the old field, near Jim Cornell's Ferry, as this was the only place in that entire region where cockle-burs were found.

After the war Weatherford related to James Cornells the whole story of his reconnoisance of Fort Madison, and his taking Allen's and Moncreif's horses, and that on his stating to his people the strength of the fort and the number of armed men in it, and this report being supplemented by the report of the five warriors, the Creeks abandoned the idea of an attempt to capture it.

10. INDIAN DEPREDATIONS.

A few days after the attack on Fort Sinquefield, George Morgan, John Emmons, and ——Dunn left Fort Madison to go up to Morgan's farm, about a mile above Suggsville, to get some honey for the fort. Upon their arrival, they dismounted and tied their horses to the fence. Emmons' horse was a fine stallion. They killed the bees and secured the honey. Soon after, while Morgan was walking over the premises, and Emmons and Dunn were eating a water melon, suddenly they were fired upon by a party of Creek warriors from the other side of the fence. Morgan and Dunn instantly took to their heels and fled for life. Emmons thought he would try to save his horse. He ran to get him, and had reached the fence, from the top of which he had just seized the bridle, when a mounted warrior came dashing up, jerked the reins out of Emmons' hand and rode away with his prize. Emmons, being in great danger from the Indians who were now advancing and firing upon him, wheeled around, sprang after his companions, and all succeeded in getting safely back to Fort Madison. They lost both horses and honey. Some time after, it was noticed by a visitor to the locality that seven bullets had struck the fence where Emmons stood in attempting to save his horse.

11. PUSHMATAHA.

As this noted Choctaw Mingo has acted a conspicuous part in the annals of Alabama and Mississippi, it is deemed not inappropriate to present a short account of his career, as well as to correct certain erroneous statements made by some of the writers of Alabama and Mississippi history.

Current accounts state that Pushmataha was born in East Mississippi, about the year 1764. This statement, that he was born in East Mississippi, is no doubt correct, especially so as it is corroborated by an old tradition, which was current among the early settlers of Noxubee County, that he was born on the east bank of Noxubee, some two miles above Macon. Many years ago there stood, and perhaps still stands, on the east bank of this river, a large black oak, near which, tradition said, stood the little cabin in which Pushmataha was born. In all the published accounts of him seen by the writer, there is no reference to the social status of his parents. We have no evidence that they were plebians, as stated in Claiborne's *Mississippi*, p. 541, a statement doubtless invented by the author to sustain the thrasonical boast which, in the same connection, he has put into the mouth of the chief. The names of his parents have never been preserved, nor can the number of his brothers and sisters be definitely stated. He had, at least, one sister, named Nahotima, "She who seeks and gives things," as the writer learns from his Choctaw friend, Jack Amos, of Newton county, Mississippi, who is her grandson. This name is compounded of *na*, an abbreviation of *nana*, meaning "thing," or "something," *hoyo*, "to seek," abbreviated into *ho*, and *ima*, "to give," the two subjects *ho* and *ima* being united by *t*, the connecting particle. He doubtless had another sister, or a brother, as Oklahoma, who succeeded him as Mingo in 1825, was a nephew.

Some comments on the name *Pushmataha* may not be amiss. In this name the vowels must be pronounced according to the genuine Continental sound, and the accent must be placed on the penult. All other pronunciations and accentuations are incorrect. The Choctaws in ordinary conversation make use of much elision of vowels and consonants. The full original form of the name is *Apushimataha*, that is, *Apushimalhtaha*, which name, no doubt, was given to the future mingo in his babyhood, from some trivial circumstance, the memory of which has long since been lost. *Apushi im alhtaha*, literally translated, is "The sapling is ready, or finished for him." The statement made in Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 16, *note*, that *Pushmataha* means "He has won all the honors of his race," is not worth a second's consideration.

There is no record of the boyhood of Pushmataha, but it was no doubt similar to that of the average Choctaw boy. Soon after attaining manhood, his ardent soul was enkindled with the glory

of a martial life, and he soon began to win renown as a warrior. From, as it were, a simple warrior, he arose to the position of a leader of the war parties making inroads across the Mississippi into the domains of the Osages, or the Washashi, as they are called in the Choctaw tongue. The Choctaws waged wars against the Osages for a long series of years, beginning in the last decade of the eighteenth century and continuing down to 1826, when, as we learn from the records of the Government "the path was made white" between the two tribes by General William Clark. Some account of Pushmataha's expeditions against the Osages can be seen in McKenny and Hall. The writer was informed some years ago, by his old friend Hemonubbee (*Himonabi*), who died in Neshoba county, Mississippi, in 1888, aged nearly ninety, that Pushmataha made many successful inroads into the Osage country. The full details of one of these excursions, the writer has in manuscript, taken down direct from the lips of Hemonubbee, who received it from his father Fillamotubbee (*Filamotabi*) who served under Pushmataha in that excursion.

Early in the nineteenth century, Pushmataha became Mingo of the "Okla Hannali," or the Six Towns District of the Choctaws. His authority and influence over the people of his district were very great and were always directed towards promoting the most friendly relations between them and the white people. He also exercised much influence over his contemporaries Moshulitubbee (*Amoshulitabi*) and Puckshenubbee (*Apakshcnabi*), Mingos respectively of the "Ahepat Okla" (Potato-eating people) and "Okla Falaya" (Long people), as the north eastern and western districts were called in the native speech of the Choctaws.

A brief etymological digression may here be appropriate in regard to the names of the mingoes of these two districts. Moshulitubbee, written in the Choctaw orthography *Amoshulitabi*, signifies, "The one who perseveres and kills." *Amoshuli*, "to persevere," "to be zealous," "to be determined," *t*, the connective particle uniting the two subjects, and *abi*, "to kill." The current statement that the first part of this compound is *moshuli*, signifying "to be extinguished, to go out" (as fire), is altogether erroneous. *Moshuli* is not a word of action, and to make sense as a man's name, it cannot be compounded with *abi*, "to kill." Puckshenubbee, in the Choctaw orthography *Apakshcnabi*, signifies "The one who hugs (like a bear) and kills." The connective par-

ticle *t* is not always used to unite two subjects. It is frequently omitted, where the meaning of the expression is very clear and obvious.

There is a statement in Pickett's *History of Alabama*, vol. i, p. 124, in regard to Pushmataha and George S. Gaines, which contains many inaccuracies, all, no doubt, resulting from slips in Mr. Pickett's memory as to the statements given him by Mr. Gaines. It may be best first to note the inaccuracies and then relate the story as it really occurred. The Nanih Waiya mound with which the writer is perfectly familiar, is not situate on the road leading from St. Stephens, Alabama, to Jackson, Mississippi, as stated by Mr. Pickett. The mound is, in fact, situated on the west side of Nanih Waiya creek, in the southern part of Winston county, Miss., and about four hundred yards from the Neshoba county line. It is about forty feet high. Its base covers three fourths of an acre. Its summit, which is flat, has an area of one fourth of an acre. Pickett's statement that the mound is enclosed by a ditch encompassing twenty acres is hardly accurate. It is enveloped by a semi-circular rampart, about a mile and a half in length, each end or extremity of the rampart terminating upon the bank of Nanih Waiya creek, one being about six hundred yards above the mound, the other the same distance below. In short, the mound stands exactly midway between the two extremities of the rampart, the greater part of which has been much worn by the plow, except in a certain place, where it traverses a primeval forest. Pickett speaks of a deep hole on the top of the mound, ten feet in diameter. While not disposed to doubt that such a hole may have once existed, certainly no trace of it can now be seen, nor has the writer ever heard "the oldest inhabitant" speak of such a hole. Pickett is right in his statement that "the ignorant portion of the Choctaws believe that their ancestors once sprung out of this hole, peopling the whole of that part of the country." To this day, the average Choctaw looks upon the Nanih Waiya, or pretends to look upon it, as the birthplace and cradle of their race, where *Aba Inki* fashioned the two *iksa* at the base of this sacred mound. But Pickett makes an egregious blunder in his etymology of Nanih Waiya. The name signifies "Bending Hill," *Nanih*, Hill, *Waiya*, Bending, and strictly applies to the bending or semi-circular rampart which envelopes the mound, but in popular usage the name has been extended so

as to embrace both the mound and the rampart, in fact, almost the mound alone. There is another statement made by Pickett in regard to Nanih Waiya in which his recollection of Gaines' statements must surely be at fault. He says that Gaines rode up on this mound. The writer has ascended Nanih Waiya afoot, perhaps fifty times in his life, and he knows positively that it is quite a *steep* task to even *lead* a horse up the winding path to its summit. He is therefore much inclined to doubt that Gaines rode up on this mound. This statement of Colonel Gaines' horseback trip up Nanih Waiya, however, may be of but little importance. But did that episode at Nanih Waiya between Gaines and Pushmataha occur in 1810? Did Gaines at that *early day* advise the Choctaws *oracularly* through Nanih Waiya that they ought to emigrate? The question of Choctaw emigration was never agitated by the Government agents as early as 1810. Looking at these statements of Pickett's from all points of view, it is certain that in consequence of his imperfect recollection he has made an error in the Indian, the locality, and the chronology.

The true version of this incident at Nanih Waiya, in which, however, Pushmataha does not figure, was related to the writer several years ago by the late W. T. Lewis, of Winston county, Miss., who while a member of the Mississippi Legislature at Jackson, during the war period, heard it direct from the lips of Mr. Gaines. Mr. Lewis often referred to Pickett's series of incorrect statements, comparing them with what he had heard from Mr. Gaines, and with his own personal knowledge of Nanih Waiya. The story is as follows: In or about 1830, Colonel Gaines was commissioned to go with a delegation of Choctaws to visit and explore their new country west. Nittakechi, Mingo of the "Okla Hannali," or Six Towns district, the successor of Pushmataha, was a member of this delegation. The first or second day of their travel they came to the sacred mound, Nanih Waiya. Nittakechi pointed to the mound and jestingly said, "That is our mother." Gaines replied, "Well, I will go to your mother and see what she says," and accordingly went to the mound. Upon his return Nittakechi said, "Well, Mr. Gainiss, what did our mother say?" She said, "You must all go west," was his reply. "*Holabi, holabi fehna,*" laughingly spoke the chief—"A lie, a real lie." This little incident afforded much amusement to all parties. It should be observed that the Choctaw word *holabi*, does not necessarily con-

vey that offensive or opprobious meaning which exists in our English word *lie*. It does not always imply moral obliquity, but may be even used to specify honest misstatements, or even sometimes a jest. Mr. Gainiss, as the Indians called him, took this little aboriginal repartee in the facetious sense intended by Nittakechi. The name of this chief may be translated *Day-prolonger*. It is said that he could do so much business in a day, that he seemed, as it were, to prolong or lengthen out the day for such work.

In the late summer or early fall of 1811, the celebrated Shawnee chief, Tecumseh, visited the Choctaw people for the purpose of inducing them to join a proposed Indian confederacy. He found in Pushmataha a most strenuous opponent to all his designs. None of the Choctaw Mingoes, or sub-mingoes favored Tecumseh in the slightest degree, but according to Choctaw tradition, Pushmataha was the most zealous of all in his opposition. In the succeeding Creek War, he early joined the American army with his warriors. He was commissioned Lieutenant Colonel, and commanded a battalion of warriors in the Holy Ground campaign, in which he was an actor of no mean distinction. He was strict and conscientious in the discharge of his military duties during the war, and was so rigid in his discipline, that he early succeeded in converting his wild warriors into efficient troops.

During the Creek War, the great mass of the Choctaws were friendly to the Americans, and from first to last, several hundred of their warriors served in the American armies. But notwithstanding this general friendliness of the Choctaws, there were a few Choctaws, not exceeding thirty, perhaps not so many, that united with the Creeks and fought against the Americans. This fact is derived from the following several sources which mutually corroborate each other: Monette's *History of the Mississippi Valley*, Gaines' *Reminiscences*, in the Mobile *Register*, Claiborne's *Mississippi*, p. 487, notes of conversations of the writer in 1877 with Captain S. P. Doss, of Pickensville, Ala., who was a friend of Pushmataha's, conversations in 1878 with Mr. G. W. Campbell, of Shuqualak, Miss., who received his information from Stonie Hadjo and a "talk" in 1885 with old Hemonubbee, who stated that he received the information from his father Fillomotubbee, and other Choctaws. As to the fate of these Choctaw renegades, apart from the brief statement in Claiborne's *Mississippi*, the

writer received the story in detail from the three above mentioned parties, Captain Doss, Mr. Campbell and Hemonubbee. There was no appreciable difference in their respective narratives, save as to the locality, which Captain Doss alone remembered. The story is as follows:

Some time after the Creek War, the Choctaw renegades in the Creek country applied to the Choctaw chiefs for permission to return to their old homes in the Choctaw Nation. Pushmataha, with the concurrence of the other Mingoes, sent them word granting permission to return, provided that on their way back, they would come through a certain well known deep gorge or defile between two hills, situated somewhere in the vicinity of Demopolis—the exact locality not known to Captain Doss. To this proposition the renegades assented. Pushmataha, meanwhile thoroughly informed as to their movements, secretly had a party of trusty warriors posted on both sides of the defile, and when the renegades had completely entered therein, the warriors opened fire upon them and killed every man. In this manner by a kind of aboriginal drum head court-martial Pushmataha punished the only case of treason among the Choctaws that occurred during the Creek War of 1813.

It has ever been a matter of boast with the Choctaws of Mississippi, even down to the present day, that the Choctaws as a nation never bore arms against the Americans. *Chahta okla hat nitak nan asho nahullo ya ittintanampit issish a hlatabli tok keyu hoke.* "The Choctaw people have never shed the blood of white men in war."

After the Creek War, the most prominent event connected with the life of Pushmataha, was the treaty of Doak's Stand in 1820. In the negotiations on this occasion, he displayed much diplomacy and showed a business capacity equal to that of General Jackson, against whom he was pitted, in driving a sharp bargain.

Pushmataha died in Washington City, about 12 o'clock, p. m., December 23rd, 1824. There is now in the possession of Mrs. C. Robb, who is a neice of Captain David Folsom, an autograph letter of the Captain's, which gives some account of the chief's last days and hours. Folsom was with the Choctaw delegation in Washington, at the time of Pushmataha's death, in the three-fold character of delegate, treasurer and interpreter. His letter is divided in three parts, bearing the dates of December 24th, 25th,

and 26th, 1824. From a certain passage in that part of the letter dated December 25th it is evident that croup or quinsy, with excessive and habitual intoxication, was the cause of the death of Pushmataha. A few lines are quoted from the part of the letter dated December 24th:

"Two nights before he died, he wheezed very much and struggled very much in his sleep. But notwithstanding all this, he would expose himself in every line of exposure, and finally on the 23d instant, about nine o'clock, A. M., he was attacked out on the street. He could hardly get his breath. Two doctors were immediately called, and efforts were made but done no good. He died about twelve o'clock, P. M."

Captain Folsom, whether present or absent at the death scene of Pushmataha, being a Choctaw and familiar with the language of the Choctaw attendants of the chief, had the best opportunity for securing all particulars pertaining to his death. He is totally silent as to some romantic details recorded in Claiborne's *Life of Sam Dale*, p. 136; McKenny and Hall's *Indian Tribes of North America*, and by Drake's *American Indians*. How true these details may be or how much fiction may be intermingled with them, we have no means of ascertaining. But there is one passage in McKenny and Hall, the dying talk of Pushmataha, which, from a consideration of some circumstances, can be shown to be a piece of pure fiction. A practical man, like Pushmataha, in his death agony would not be apt to indulge in poetical language about "birds' singing," or "flowers' blooming," or likening the tidings of his death to "the sound of the fall of a mighty oak in the stillness of the woods." Even assuming that Pushmataha did indulge in this poetical though garrulous talk, the query arises, was the talk in English or Choctaw? Below in this sketch can be seen an example of Pushmataha's English, and judging from this specimen alone, the merest tyro in Indianology would know that he was utterly incapable of such high flown poetical diction as that recorded by McKenny and Hall. In addition to this, from statements made to the writer in by-gone years by Captain S. P. Doss, of Ala., and Mr. Archibald McArthur, of Miss., it can be confidently stated that Pushmataha's English vocabulary was very meager and his general knowledge of the language exceedingly limited. Again, assuming that Pushmataha did actually make this talk in English, although men in their dying hours almost invariably make use of their native speech, the query arises, who translated the talk from Choctaw into English? Was it

translated at the time? Captain Folsom was, without doubt, the best educated man of the Choctaw delegation. We know the extent of his education, for his neice states that he attended school only six months in his life. His letter is sufficient evidence of his imperfect education, for it swarms with inaccurate expressions, proving that he was incapable of translating Pushmataha's talk into that elegant Johnsonese English, which, to conclude the whole matter, one is compelled to believe was fabricated by one or both of the authors of that book and palmed off upon a credulous world as the last dying talk of Pushmataha.

A record or knowledge of the physical stature of distinguished men may be considered by some as being of little historical importance. But if all the errors of historians, even in trifles, are to be corrected, it may be well to direct attention to a statement in Claiborne's *Life of Dale*, p. 135, that Pushmataha was six feet two inches high. This is an error. The writer, at intervals in by-gone years, has interrogated several persons, both whites and Choctaws, who had seen Pushmataha, in regard to this matter, and as a result from their statements, it can be confidently placed on record that he was about five feet nine or ten inches—certainly under six feet. The statements of two informants will perhaps be sufficient. The late Captain Doss was six feet one inch high, and if Pushmataha had been six feet two inches, his stature would have exceeded that of the Captain Doss, and he would surely have been impressed with the chief's great stature. On the contrary, Captain Doss gave five feet nine inches as about his stature. The late Mr. Archibald McArthur stated that he himself was five feet eight inches, and he did not think that Pushmataha was any or at least very little taller than himself. All the accounts agree that he was a man of portly build, and take him all in all he was what the world simply calls "a big Indian."

About 1850 there appeared in a Mississippi Journal an article on Indian oratory in which the writer quoted a sentence that he considered the most eloquent expression that ever fell from Indian lips. Referring to Pushmataha, he wrote: "Pushmataha when once asked who were his parents, replied, 'I had no father, I had no mother. The lightning rent the living oak, and Pushmataha sprang forth.'" This so-called speech of Pushmataha, with more or less varying phraseology, for full forty years, has been a favorite quotation with the historical writers,

editors and stump speakers of Mississippi. Notwithstanding the fact that Pushmataha had a very poor, smattering knowledge of English, in Lowry and McCardle's *History of Mississippi*, this speech has even been expanded into Ossianic language, leading one to the suspicion that Pushmataha had spent some of his leisure hours in reading the songs of Selma. In that book Pushmataha thus speaks: "I had no father, no mother, no brother, no sister. The winds howled, the rain fell, the thunder roared and the lightning flashed; a pine tree was shivered and from its splinters Pushmataha stept forth with his rifle on his shoulder." In Claiborne's *Life of Dale*, Pushmataha is not so Ossianic but rather more laconic. In that book he spouts forth: "I have no father and no mother. The lightning struck an oak tree, and Pushmataha sprung out of it just as he stands." In Claiborne's *Mississippi*, published nineteen years after the *Life of Dale*, Pushmataha's speech has expanded a little, a few more words being added to it, as follows: "Pushmataha has no father and no mother. The lightning struck a big oak tree and Pushmataha leaped out of it a warrior just as he now stands." This speech, purporting to have come from the mouth of Pushmataha, with its various poetical versions, for nearly two generations has been palmed off upon the credulity of the reading world. But traced back to its birth and viewed in its swaddling clothes, it is a very common place affair. Its genesis may thus be stated: Dr. Gideon Lincecum and his brothers Grant and Grabel were among the first settlers of East Mississippi. They associated much with the Choctaws and were familiar with their language. They were all acquainted with Pushmataha and Dr. Lincecum has left in manuscript a life of the chief. According to the Lincecums, Pushmataha, in his latter years, was noted for his drunken habits. While on his big sprees, whenever he came into the presence of white people, he was in the habit of repeating a certain set speech, as follows: "I no had any father, I no had any mother, lightning hit a stump and Pushmataha come hopping out just this way." This is the whole story, a set maudlin speech of a drunken Indian. One may well conjecture that some romantic chap, utterly ignorant of Indian ways and characteristics, got hold of this maudlin effusion of Pushmataha, and under his wild imagination it lost its crudeness and grew into something poetic and picturesque, and in process of time it expanded more and more until it finally

crystalized into that mixture of Ossianic bosh and bathos as we read it in the writings of Southern historians, and as we hear it in the impassioned speeches of Southern stump orators

In Reuben Davis' *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians,* chapter viii, there is a most startling narrative—an account of the trial of Pushmataha in Kemper County, Mississippi, for the killing of an other Indian. Kemper County was organized December 23, 1833. Assuming that this trial occurred in 1834, then it occurred ten years after the death of Pushmataha in 1824.

The real facts of the case are these: Mr. Davis, in his old age, got Pushmataha and Hopaii Iskitini, or "Little Leader," his English name, badly mixed in his memory. About 1835, Little Leader, who was a noted chief, killed another Indian, Teatubee (*Hotiatabi*), which was followed by his famous trial, celebrated in the annals of Kemper County, and which is correctly described, if we substitute Little Leader in every place where he has written Pushmataha. History ought not to put the old Mingo upon trial for a crime committed ten years after his death.

Some account, even though meagre, should be placed on record as to the home of Pushmataha. From the traditional accounts, in the course of his life, he must have lived at various places in his district. According to Gaines' *Reminiscences* he lived in 1805 near the present site of Meridian, Miss. According to the late Mr. Archibald McArthur, of Miss., his home at the time of his death was on the Tennessee road, in Clarke County, Miss., near the head waters of Buckatunna Creek. A French Indian countryman named Fillingim, afterwards owned and settled in this old home of Pushmataha.

In bringing this record of the Choctaw Mingo to a close, it may be proper to state that Pushmataha, while possessing some admirable traits, was grievously afflicted with an overweening vanity or egotism, and was especially vain of the, as it were, brevet military title conferred upon him during the Creek War of 1812. Mr. Wm. P. Avera, a well known citizen living near State Line, Miss., states that in early life he has often heard old men say that when Pushmataha came into the presence of a company of white men, he invariably introduced himself thus: "Do you know my name? I am General Pushmataha." But this weakness is pardonable, as vanity is the most amiable and common human weakness.

Pushmataha was a genuine patriot and in all his official words and actions he was actuated by the highest regard for the interest and welfare of his people. He died just about the time when the old order was passing away, and the new order with its missionaries, its schools, its churches and its translations of the Sacred Scriptures was coming in to revolutionize all the ways and ideas of the Choctaws. Had Providence decreed for him a later existence, under the light of a Christian civilization, he might have achieved for himself a higher and a nobler fame and his magnificent patriotism might have prompted him to work out for his people a higher and happier destiny than that by which they are at present environed. Pushmataha, no doubt, in his public capacity, and in the light of his surroundings, did the best he could. Let us forget his frailties and cherish his memory as one of the great aboriginal heroes of the South.

BIBLIOGRAPHICAL NOTE.

By the Editor.

As has been stated, Pushmataha died in Washington City, and was there buried. His body rests in the Congressional Cemetery, surrounded by many of the notables of the Nation. The editor visited this quiet city of the dead one Sabbath afternoon in the autumn of 1894, and while there noted the inscriptions on the tomb.

First Side.

Pushmataha | a | Choctaw Chief | lies here, | this Monument to his memory | is erected by his Brother Chiefs | who were associated with him | in a | Delegation | From their Nation, | in the year 1824, | to the | General Government | of the | United States. |

Second Side.

Blank.

Third Side.

He died in Washington, | on the 24th of December, 1824, | of the Croup, in the | 60th year of his age. | — | Among his last words | were the following: | "When I am gone, let the big | guns be fired over me." |

Fourth Side.

Pushmataha was a warrior | of great distinction— | He was wise In Council— | Eloquent in an extraordinary | degree, and on all occasions, | and under all circumstances, | The White man's friend. |

Likenesses of him will be found in McKenney and Hall's *History of the Indian Tribes of North America* (1854); and in Lowry and McCardle's *History of Mississippi for Schools* (1892), p. 125.

The following are the principal bibliographical references: McKenney and Hall's *Indian Tribes* (1854), vol. i, pp. 185-193; Drake's *Aboriginal Races of North America* (15th ed.), pp. 402-3; Claiborne's *Mississippi*, pp. 514-515; Claiborne's *Life of Dale* (1860); Lowry and McCardle's *History of Mississippi* (1891); Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 16, *note;* Parton's *Life of Andrew Jackson* (1861, 3 vols.); Reuben Davis' *Recollections of Mississippi and Mississippians* (1889); Peter J. Hamilton's *Colonial Mobile* (1897);

Ball's *Clarke County, Ala.* (1882); Halbert and Ball's *Creek War* (1895); Riley's *History of Conecuh County, Ala.* (1881); Meek's *Romantic Passages in Southwestern History* (1857); George S. Gaines' "Reminiscences of Early Times in the Mississippi Territory," in the Mobile *Register*, June and July, 1872; Pickett's *History of Alabama* (1851, 2 vols.); Goodspeed's *Memoirs of Mississippi* (2 vols.); and a *Life of*, in manuscript, by Gideon Lincecum. Huriosco Austill, Esq., of Mobile (son of Jeremiah Austill, of the "Canoe Fight"), has contributed to the Mobile *Register*, Aug. 21, 1897, a valuable paper, filled with recollections of the "White Man's Friend," received from his father and from both of his grandfathers, Evan Austill and John Eades, who settled prior to 1812 in Clarke County, Ala.

XIII. SESSIONS OF THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY OF ALABAMA.

By Thomas McAdory Owen,[1] of Carrollton.

Although of comparatively recent formation, Alabama has a varied legislative experience. The enactment of laws, the laws themselves, and incidental legislative happenings, form perhaps the most important group of items in the current annals of a State. This is especially true in Alabama, where the student finds in the session laws the most convenient basis for the study of any particular period. The principal legislative documents are always the House and Senate Journals, and the Acts, although at every session there are many pamphlet bills, committee and official reports, besides memorials, etc. The list below is for practical use, and cannot fail to be of value to the student, as well as the man of affairs. The place of holding, the number of the session, the date of convening and adjournment, and the pagination of the Journals and Acts of each session of the General Assembly are presented. There is practically a full set of Journals and Acts in the Supreme Court Library, Montgomery, Ala. With a few missing numbers, the compiler has a set of both from 1841 to 1896-97.[2]

Sessions.

Held at St. Stephens, temporary seat of the Territorial Government:

1st session, 1st General Assembly, Alabama Territory. *Legislative Council:* pp. 56, iv. *House:* pp. —. *Acts:* pp. 116, iv.

2d session, 1st General Assembly, Nov. 2 to Nov. 21, 1818. *Legislative Council:* pp. —. *House:* 120. *Acts:* pp. 79, 3.

Held at Huntsville, temporary seat of the State Government:

1st session, Oct. 25 to Dec. 17, 1819. *Senate:* pp. 203. *House:* pp. 203. *Acts:* pp. 152.

Held at Cahawba, first State Capital:

2d session, Nov. 6 to Dec. 21, 1820. *Senate:* pp. 131. *House:* pp. 132. *Acts:* pp. 116.

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[1] For biographical sketch of Mr. Owen, with portrait, *see* Tuscaloosa *Times*, 68th Anniversary and Trade Edition, May 12, 1899.

[2] It is of interest to note the very valuable list of "Colonial Assemblies and their Legislative Journals," which Dr. J. Franklin Jameson gives in the *Report* of the American Historical Association for 1897. Of course no new States are represented.

Called session, June 4 to 18, 1821. *Senate:* pp. 62. *House:* pp. —. *Acts:* pp. 43[1].

3d session, Nov. 5 to Dec. 19, 1821. *Senate:* pp. 168. *House:* pp. 240. *Acts:* pp. 120.

4th session, Nov. 18, 1822, to Jan. 1, 1823. *Senate:* pp. 168. *House:* pp. 176. *Acts:* pp. 148.

5th session, Nov. 17, to Dec. 31, 1823. *Senate:* pp. 172. *House:* pp. 192. *Acts:* pp. 126.

6th session, Nov. 15 to Dec. 25, 1824. *Senate:* pp. 151. *House:* pp. 172. *Acts:* pp. 140.

7th session, Nov. 21, 1825, to Jan. 14, 1826. *Senate:* pp. 168. *House:* pp. 230. *Acts:* pp. 114.

Held at Tuscaloosa, second State Capital.

8th session, Nov. 20, 1826, to Jan. 13, 1827. *Senate:* pp. 156. *House:* pp. 279. *Acts:* pp. 124.

9th session, Nov. 19, 1827, to Jan. 15, 1828. *Senate:* pp. 195. *House:* pp. 289. *Acts:* pp. 176[6].

10th session, Nov. 17, 1828, to Jan. 29, 1829. *Senate:* pp. 222. *House:* pp. 272. *Acts:* pp. 108.

11th session, Nov. 16. 1829, to Jan. 20, 1830. *Senate:* pp. 214. *House:* pp. 296. *Acts:* pp. 95.

12th session, Nov. 15, 1830, to Jan. 15, 1831. *Senate:* pp. 198. *House:* pp. 274. *Acts:* pp. 80.

13th session, Nov. 21, 1831, to Jan. 21, 1832. *Senate:* pp. 207. *House:* pp. 246. *Acts:* pp. 120.

Called session, Nov. 5 to 15, 1832. *Senate:* pp. 40. *House:* pp. 48. *Acts:* pp. 12, 11.

14th session, Nov. 19, 1832, to Jan. 12, 1833. *Senate:* pp. 188. *House:* pp. 224. *Acts:* pp. 146.

15th session, Nov. 18, 1833, to Jan. 17, 1834. *Senate:* pp. 184. *House:* pp. 246. *Acts:* pp. 205.

16th session, Nov. 17, 1834, to Jan. 10, 1835. *Senate:* pp. 194. *House:* pp. 197. *Acts:* pp. 160.

17th session, Nov. 16, 1835, to Jan. 9, 1836. *Senate:* pp. 168. *House:* pp. 209. *Acts:* pp. 184.

18th session, Nov. 7 to Dec. 23, 1836. *Senate:* pp. 128. *House:* pp. 200. *Acts:* pp. 152.

Called session, June 12 to June 30, 1837. *Senate:* pp. 40. *House:* pp. 91. *Acts:* pp. 42, 11.

[19th] session, Nov. 6 to Dec. 25. 1837. *Senate:* pp. 136. *House:* pp. 208. *Acts:* pp. 136.

[20th] session, Dec. 3, 1838, to Feb. 2, 1839. *Senate:* pp.—. *House:* pp. 296. *Acts:* pp. 216.

[21st] session, Dec. 2, 1839, to Feb. 5. 1840. *Senate:* pp. 336. *House:* pp. 376. *Acts:* pp. 192.

[22d] session, Nov. 2, 1840, to Jan. 3, 1841. *Senate:* pp.—. *House:* pp. 335. *Acts:* pp. 215.

Called session, April, 1841. *Senate:* pp. —. *House:* pp. —. *Acts:* pp. 24.[3]

[23d] session, Nov. 1 to Dec. 31, 1841. *Senate:* pp.—. *House:* pp. 356. *Acts:* pp. 182x.

[24th] session. Dec. 5. 1842, to Feb. 15, 1843. *Senate:* pp. 387. *House:* pp. 472. *Acts:* pp. 256.

[25th] session, Dec. 4, 1843, to Jan. 17, 1844. *Senate:* pp. 286. *House:* pp. 292. *Acts:* pp. 224.

[26th] session, Dec. 2, 1844, to Jan. 27, 1845. *Senate:* pp. 320. *House:* pp. 403. *Acts:* pp. 247.

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[3] Reprinted in photo-facsimile by *Statute Law Book Co.*, Washington, D. C., 1895; price, $5.00.

27th session, Dec. 1, 1845, to Feb. 5, 1846. *Senate:* pp. 299. *House:* pp. 507. *Acts:* pp. 280.

Held at Montgomery, third State Capital.

1st biennial session, Dec. 6, 1847, to Mar. 6, 1848. *Senate:* pp. 432. *House:* pp.—. *Acts:* pp. 493.

2d biennial session, Dec. 12, 1849, to Feb. 13, 1850. *Senate:* pp. 501. *House:* pp. 559. *Acts:* pp. 544.

3d biennial session, Nov. 10, 1851, to Feb. 10, 1852. *Senate:* pp.—. *House:* pp. 586. *Acts:* pp. 575.

4th biennial session, Nov. 14, 1853, to Feb. 18, 1854. *Senate:* pp. 342. *House:* pp. 563. *Acts:* pp. 534.

5th biennial session, Nov. 12, 1855, to Feb. 15, 1856. *Senate:* pp. 372. *House:* pp. 648. *Acts:* pp. 388.

6th biennial session, Nov. 9, 1857, to Feb. 8. 1858. *Senate:* pp. 356. *House:* pp. 604. *Acts:* pp. 468.

7th biennial session, Nov. 14, 1859, to Feb. 27, 1860. *Senate:* pp. 411. *House:* pp. 543. *Acts:* pp. 724.

[1st] called session, Jan. 14 to Feb. 9, 1861. *Senate:* pp. 115. *House:* pp. 198. *Acts:* pp. 161, 1l.

2d called and 1st annual session, Oct. 28 to Nov. 11, 1861, and Nov. 11. to Dec. 10, 1861. *Senate:* pp. 247. *House:* pp. 296. *Acts:* pp. 303 [1].

Called and 2d annual session, Oct. 27 to Nov. 10, 1862, Nov. 10 to Dec. 9, 1862. *Senate:* pp. 238. *House:* pp. 273. *Acts:* pp. 226.

Called and 3d annual session, Aug. 17 to Aug. 29, 1863, Nov. 9 to Dec. 8, 1863. *Senate:* pp. 252. *House:* pp. 266. *Acts:* pp. 248.

Called and 4th annual session, Sept. 27 to Nov. 18, 1864. *Senate:* pp. —. *House:* pp. —. *Acts:* pp. 218.

Session, Nov. 20, 1865, to Feb. 23, 1866. *Senate:* pp. 352+. *House:* pp. 450+. *Acts:* pp. 631.

Session, Nov. 12, 1866, to Feb. 19, 1867. *Senate:* pp. 423. *House:* pp. 509. *Acts:* pp. 811.

Sessions, July 13 to Aug. 12, Sept. 16 to Oct. 10, Nov. 2 to Dec. 3, 1868. *Senate:* pp. 482. *House:* pp. 493. *Acts:* pp. 663.

Sessions Nov. 15, 1869, to Mar. 3, 1870. *Senate:* pp. 476. *House:* pp. 584. *Acts:* pp. 512.

Session, Nov. 21, 1870, to Mar. 9, 1871. *Senate:* pp. 373. *House:* pp. 609. *Acts:* pp. 367.

Session, Nov. 20, 1871, to Feb. 26, 1872. *Senate:* pp. 591. *House:* pp. 685. *Acts:* pp. 532.

Session, Nov. 18, 1872, to April 23, 1873. *Senate:* pp. 739. *House:* pp. 976. *Acts:* pp. 636, 1l.

This was known as the "Court-House" assembly. The Journals of its rival, the "Capitol" body, were not printed until 1874, when they were Bound with these, respectively, are the Journals of the "Capitol" Senate 1872: pp. 1-102, *House:* pp. 275-386.

Session, Nov. 17 to Dec. 16. 1873. *Senate:* pp. 320. *House:* pp. 274. Bound with these, respectfully, are the Journals of the "Capitol" Senate and House, 1872-73. *See* preceding title. *Acts:* pp. 247, 1l.

Session, Nov. 16, 1874, to Mar. 22, 1875. *Senate:* pp. 685. *House:* pp. 800. *Acts:* pp. 745 [1].

Session, Dec. 28. 1875, to Mar. 8, 1876. *Senate:* pp. 721, 1l. *House:* pp. 767. *Acts:* pp. 463 [1].

Session, Nov. 14, 1876, to Feb. 9, 1877. *Senate:* pp. 560. *House:* pp. 764. *Acts:* pp. 356.

Session, Nov. 12, 1878, to Feb. 13, 1879. *Senate:* pp. 666. *House:* pp. 907. *Acts:* pp. 536.

Session, Nov. 9. 1880, to Mar. 1, 1881. *Senate:* pp. 757. *House:* pp. 964. *Acts:* pp. 538, 1l.

Session, Nov. 14, 1882, to Feb. 23, 1883. *Senate:* pp. 820. *House:* pp. 957. *Acts:* pp. 720.

Session, Nov. 11, 1884, to Feb. 17, 1885. *Senate:* pp. 888. *House:* pp. 1045. *Acts:* pp. 959.

Session, Nov. 9, 1886, to Feb. 28, 1887. *Senate:* pp. 1037. *House:* pp. 1391. *Acts:* p. 1096.

Session, Nov. 13, 1888, to Feb. 28, 1889. *Senate:* pp. 797. *House:* pp. 1300. *Acts:* pp. 1160.

Session, Nov. 11, 1890, to Feb. 18, 1891. *Senate:* pp. 908. *House:* pp. 1300. *Acts:* pp. 1509 [1], 11.

Session, Nov. 15, 1892, to Feb. 21, 1893. *Senate:* pp. 1015. *House:* pp. 1513. *Acts:* pp. 1270.

Session, Nov. 13, 1894, to Feb. 18 1895. *Senate:* pp. 993. *House:* pp. 1211. *Acts:* pp. 1328.

Session, Nov. 10, 1896, to Feb. 18, 1897. *Senate:* pp. 1451. *House:* pp. 1442. *Acts:* pp. 1611 [1].

XIV. SKETCH OF PETTUS' BRIGADE.

By Gen. Edmund Winston Pettus,[1] of Selma.

[2] Head Qrs. Pettus Brigade,
Camp near Dalton, Georgia,
March 17th, 1864.

Col. W. H. Fowler,
Richmond, Va.

Colonel:—Your letter of the 8th inst. with circulars enclosed, was received yesterday. I hope you will be successful in the work you have undertaken.

This Brigade is composed of five Regiments—the 20th Ala. Regt., commanded by Col. James M. Dedman; the 23rd Ala. Regt., Col. F. K. Beck, but now commanded by Lt. Col. J. B.

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[1]E. W. Pettus was born in Limestone County, Ala., July 6, 1821; is the youngest child of John Pettus and Alice T., a daughter of Capt. Anthony Winston, of Virginia, a revolutionary soldier; was educated at the common schools in Alabama and at Clinton College, in Smith County, Tenn.; studied law in the office of William Cooper, then the leader of the bar in North Alabama; was admitted to the bar in 1842, and commenced the practice of law at Gainesville, Ala., as partner of Hon. Turner Reavis; in 1844 was elected solicitor for the seventh circuit; served as a lieutenant in the Mexican war; in 1849 resigned the office of solicitor and went, with a party of his neighbors, on horseback to California; was elected judge of the seventh circuit after his return to Alabama in 1855, but resigned that office in 1858, and removed to Dallas County, where he now resides; resumed the practice of law as a member of the firm of Pettus, Pegues & Dawson; in 1861 went into the Confederate army as major of the Twentieth Alabama Infantry, and soon afterwards was made lieutenant-colonel of that regiment; in October, 1863, was made a brigadier-general of infantry, and served till the close of the war, and he was in many battles; after the war returned to his home and to the practice of law, and has continued at that work since; since he became a voter has been a member of the Democratic party; in November, 1896, was nominated by that party, and elected by the legislature of Alabama United States Senator for the term commencing March 4, 1897, and expiring March 3, 1903; never was, before, a candidate for any political office; has been a delegate to all of the Democratic national conventions, except the first and last, since the war, and when a delegate, was chairman of the Alabama delegation. For further references *see* Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 227-229; Hardy's *Selma* (1879), p. 175; Garrett's *Public Men in Alabama*, pp. 382-383; Smith and DeLand's *Northern Alabama*, pp 667-668; and Brant and Fuller's *Memorial Record of Alabama*, vol. i, pp. 900-904. Each of these sketches contains many incidents in the military career of Gen. Pettus.

[2]This letter is taken from the original on file in the office of the Adjutant General of Alabama, among the papers of W. H. Fowler. An account of his work is found in this volume.

Bibb; the 30th Ala. Regt., commanded by Col. Charles M. Shelly; the 31st Ala. Regt., commanded by Col. Daniel R. Hundley, and the 46th Ala. Regt., Col. M. L. Woods; but now commanded by Capt. Geo. E. Brewer.

The Brigade was organized in its present form in November, 1862, under the command of Brig. Gen. E. D. Tracy, who was killed on the 1st of May, 1863, at the battle of Port Gibson. Col. I. W. Garrott of the 20th Ala. Regt., then command[ed] the Brigade for a few days; and was relieved by Brig. Gen. Stephen D. Lee, who commanded the Brigade at the battle of Baker's Creek[3] and during the Siege of Vicksburg. Col. Garrott was about the 25th of May, 1863, promoted to be Brig. Gen.; but he never heard of his promotion, and was killed at Vicksburg on the 17th day of June, 1863. A short time after the surrender of Vicksburg Brig. Gen. S. D. Lee was made a Major General and assigned to the command of the Cavalry in Miss. On the 18th day of September, 1863, I, being then Lt. Col. of the 20th Ala. Regt., was made a Brig. Gen. and assigned to the command of this Brigade. My appointment as Colonel of the 20th Ala. Regt. was made before, but was not received until after I had accepted my present position.

My Staff officers are Capt. John S. Smith, A. A. General, (of Perry County, Ala., appointed Oct. 18, 1863, from Adjutant of 20th Ala. Regt.); Maj. John E. McElrath, A. Q. M. (of East Tenn.), appointed Dec. 11, 1862; Maj. W. P. Hollingsworth (of Cherokee Co., Ala.), A. C. S., appointed Nov. 1, 1862; and Capt. J. A. Story (of Calhoun Co., Ala.), appointed May 27, 1862. My *aide de camp* has not been appointed.

I will try to aid you in your work, so far as it may relate to my brigade.[4]

I am Sir, most respectfully,

Your Obt. Servt.,

Edm^d^. W. Pettus, Brig. Gen. Com'ding.

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[3]A copy of Gen. Lee's report on the battle of Baker's Creek is in the archives of the Society, having been supplied by him. It is printed in the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, vol. xxiv, part 2, pp. 101-103.

[4]Brewer's *Alabama* contains short accounts of these several Regiments, with staff and company commanders.

Incomplete returns of the 20th, 30th and 31st Regiments are on file in the office of the Adjutant General of Alabama. Rosters of the 46th, "Complete with historical memoranda from organization to surrender," except of Co's. B. E. F. and I., are also on file.

Prison Experiences during the Late War (1874) is the title of an interesting volume by Col. Daniel R. Hundley, 31st Ala., one of the Regiments of this Brigade, in which he details camp life, service in the field, capture, imprisonment, escape, etc.

XV. ALABAMA RIVER BOATS, BURNED OR SUNK FROM 1865 TO 1894.[1]

The following facts and information concerning the boats on the Alabama river, that have sunk or been burned since the war, was prepared by an old Alabama river pilot.

The list begins with the steamboat Autauga, which was sunk at Autauga landing. The river was very high and the boat landed on a stump, which tore a hole in her bottom. She filled and turned completely upside down. She was on her way from Selma to Montgomery and was loaded with the corpses of Yankee soldiers. The hull floated down to Carter's plantation near Gainestown, bottom up. The negroes swarmed out and thought they had struck a rich find, but consternation spread among them when they found nothing but dead bodies. At the time of the accident C. J. English was captain, and Joe Powers pilot.

The Commodore Ferrand sunk at Packer's landing; Thomas Eanes master, John Williams pilot.

The Sunny South was burned at Portland and drifted to McMillan's Landing, where she now lies. George Kirk was her captain at the time.

The Benefit caught fire at Stark's Landing and after drifting four or five miles down the river, she sank. Charles English was captain.

The Onward was burned just above Bell's Landing and several negroes and seven hundred and one bales of cotton were lost. The fire was started by a cigarette. Peter Aunspagh was captain and Jack Swan pilot. Captain Aunspagh saved the only lady passenger on board by pulling her down the hog chain over the wheel of the boat.

The Joab Lawrence was sunk at Yellow Jacket and was a complete wreck; Van Gunnison master, Jack Gayle pilot.

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[1]From Montgomery *Advertiser*, March 14, 1894, reprinted from the Mobile *Register*.

The statistical value of this list is obvious. It has a value also as a contribution to the history of water transportation in Alabama, a full account of which is a *desideratum*.

The Cliper was burned in the cut-off and several passengers were drowned, among those lost being the captain, Mumford English. She was a total loss.

The Nyanza sank in the cut-off, Owen Finnegan master. Ben Pierce pilot. She was afterwards raised and ran several years.

The Sally List was sunk at Portland lower shoals; C. J. English master, William Rutherford pilot.

The C. W. Dorrance ran over the wreck of the Senator No. 2 and tore her whole bottom out. She was a complete loss; Byrnes Meaher master, Billy McCurdy pilot.

The Jewess ran on a log and sank at the mouth of Chickasabogue Creek in a fog. She was afterwards raised; Byrnes Meaher master. Levi Williams pilot.

The Blackford ran against the Louisville and Nashville Railroad bridge, turned over and was burned up; Van Gunnison master, Levy Gayle and Henry Sullivan pilots.

The Virginia No. 2 sank at Silver Creek Shoals and was afterwards raised; Byrnes Meaher master; J. D. Vick, pilot.

The Mary Swan sank at the cut-off point and was afterwards raised; Willis O'Bannon, master.

The Lucy E. Gastrell was sunk at Indian Town and raised by the crew in half a day; Owen Finnegan, master; J. D. Vick, pilot.

The Mist was sunk at Frank Earl's Shoals and afterwards raised; James Stewart, master; Henry Sullivan, pilot.

The Mary Ida was run over by the Maggie Burke and sank like a shot out of a shovel at Chastang's Bluff. At the time, Owen Finnegan was master of the Burke and J. D. Vick, pilot.

The Lucy E. Gastrell was sunk the second time at White Bluff Shoals and was a complete wreck; P. J. Lyons, master; J. D. Vick, pilot.

The Captain Sam blew up at Hadnots and eleven people were killed. Captain Sandy English's little daughter was lost and never a vestige of her ever found; C. J. English, master; William Hawkins, pilot.

According to the Government inspectors' reports, the Alabama River pilots have the best record of any. Those now living are C. L. Johnston, Andrew Forrey, J. D. Vick, B. F. Peeples, William Hawkins, F. E. Smith, R. B. Brown, William Rutherford, Amos Travis, Andrew Black, John Jackson.

XVI. STATISTICS OF THE COUNTIES OF ALABAMA.

By Thomas M. Owen.

NAME.	DATE.	FOR WHOM NAMED.	COUNTY SEAT.
Autauga	Nov. 21, 1818	Indian origin	Prattville
Baldwin	Dec. 21, 1809	Sen. Abraham Baldwin, of Ga.	Daphne
Barbour	Dec. 18, 1832	Gov. James Barbour, of Va.	Clayton
Bibb[1]	Feb. 7, 1818	Gov. William W. Bibb, of Ala.	Centreville
Blount	Feb. 7, 1818	Gov. Willie G. Blount, of Tenn.	Oneonta
Bullock	Dec. 5, 1866	E. C. Bullock, Esq., of Ala.	Union Springs
Butler	Dec. 13, 1819	Capt. William Butler, of Ala.	Greenville
Calhoun[2]	Dec. 18, 1832	Sen. John C. Calhoun, of S. C.	Jacksonville
Chambers	Dec. 18, 1832	Sen. Henry C. Chambers, of Ala.	Lafayette
Cherokee	Jan. 9, 1836	Indian tribe	Centre
Chilton[3]	Dec. 30, 1868	Wm. P. Chilton, Esq., of Ala.	Clanton
Choctaw	Dec. 29, 1847	Indian tribe	Butler
Clarke	Dec. 10, 1812	Gov. John Clarke, of Ga.	Grove Hill
Clay	Dec 7, 1866	Sen Henry Clay, of Ky.	Ashland
Cleburne	Dec. 6, 1866	Gen. Pat. R. Cleburne, of Ark.	Edwardsville
Coffee	Dec. 29, 1841	Gen. John Coffee, of Ala.	Elba
Colbert[4]	Feb. 6, 1867	George and Levi Colbert	Tuscumbia
Conecuh	Feb. 13, 1818	Indian origin	Evergreen
Coosa	Dec. 18, 1832	Indian origin	Rockford
Covington[5]	Dec. 7, 1821	Gen. Leonard W. Covington, of Md.	Andalusia
Crenshaw	Nov. 24, 1866	Anderson Crenshaw, Esq., of Ala.	Rutledge
Cullman	Jan. 24, 1877	Gen. John G. Cullman, of Ala.	Cullman
Dale	Dec. 22, 1824	Gen. Samuel Dale, of Ala.	Ozark
Dallas	Feb. 9, 1818	A. J. Dallas	Selma
DeKalb	Jan. 9, 1836	Gen. DeKalb	Fort Payne
Elmore	Feb. 15, 1866	John A. Elmore, Esq., of Ala.	Wetumpka
Escambia	Dec. 10, 1868	Escambia River	Brewton
Etowah[6]	Dec. 7, 1866	Indian origin	Gadsden
Fayette	Dec. 20, 1824	Gen. Lafayette	Fayette
Franklin	Feb. 6, 1818	Benj. Franklin, Esq., of Pa.	Belgreen
Geneva	Dec. 26, 1868	County town	Geneva
Greene	Dec. 13, 1819	Gen. Nath'l. Greene, of Ga.	Eutaw
Hale	Jan. 30, 1867	Stephen F. Hale, Esq., of Ala.	Greensboro
Henry	Dec. 13, 1819	Gov. Patrick Henry, of Va.	Abbeville
Jackson[7]	Dec. 13, 1819	Gen. Andrew Jackson, of Tenn.	Scottsboro
Jefferson	Dec. 13, 1819	Pres. Thomas Jefferson, of Va.	Birmingham
Lamar[8]	Feb. 4, 1867	L. Q. C. Lamar, Esq., of Miss.	Vernon
Lauderdale	Feb. 6, 1818	Col. James Lauderdale, of Tenn.	Florence
Lawrence	Feb. 6, 1818	James Lawrence, Esq., of Vt	Moulton
Lee	Dec. 5, 1866	Gen. Robert E. Lee, of Va.	Opelika
Limestone	Feb. 6, 1818	Creek of that name	Athens
Lowndes	Jan. 20, 1830	Wm. Lowndes, Esq., of S. C.	Hayneville
Macon	Dec. 18, 1832	Sen. Nath'l. Macon, of N. C.	Tuskegee
Madison	Dec. 13, 1808	Pres. James Madison, of Va	Huntsville
Marengo	Feb. 6, 1818	French origin	Linden
Marion	Feb. 13, 1818	Gen. Francis Marion, of S. C.	Hamilton
Marshall	Jan. 9, 1836	C. J. John Marshall, of Va.	Guntersville
Mobile[9]	1812	See note	Mobile
Monroe	June 29, 1815	Pres. James Monroe, of Va.	Monroeville
Montgomery	Dec. 6, 1816	Lt. Lemuel P Montgomery, of	Montgomery
Morgan[10]	Feb. 6, 1818	Gen. Daniel Morgan, of Va.	Somerville
Perry	Dec. 13, 1819	Com. O. H. Perry, of R. I.	Marion
Pickens	Dec. 19, 1820	Gen Andrew Pickens, of S. C.	Carrollton
Pike	Dec. 7, 1821	Z. M. Pike, of N. J.	Troy
Randolph	Dec. 18, 1832	Sen. John Randolph, of Va.	Wedowee
Russell	Dec. 18, 1832	Col. Gilbert C. Russell, of Ala.	Seale
St. Clair	Nov. 20, 1818	Gen. Arthur St. Clair, of Pa.	Ashville
Shelby	Feb. 7, 1818	Gov. Isaac Shelby, of Ky.	Columbiana
Sumter	Dec. 18, 1832	Gen. Thomas Sumter, of S. C.	Livingston
Talladega	Dec. 18, 1832	Indian origin	Talladega
Tallapoosa	Dec. 18, 1832	Indian origin	Dadeville
Tuscaloosa	Feb. 7, 1818	Indian origin	Tuscaloosa
Walker	Dec. 26, 1823	Sen. J. W. Walker, of Ala.	Jasper
Washington	June 4, 1800	Gen. Geo. Washington, of Va.	St. Stephens
Wilcox	Dec. 13, 1819	Lt. Jos. M. Wilcox, U. S. A.	Camden
Winston.[11]	Feb. 12, 1850	Gov. J. A. Winston, of Ala.	Double Springs

[1] Originally "Cahaba;" changed to present name Dec. 4, 1820—*Acts*, 1820, p. 63. [2] Originally "Benton," for Senator Thomas H. Benton, of Mo.; changed to present name. Jan. 29, 1858.—*Acts*, 1857-58, p. 318. [3] Originally "Baker" for Albert Baker, Esq., of the Co.; changed to present name Dec. 17, 1874.—*Acts*, 1874-75, pp. 179-180. [4] Abolished Nov. 22, 1867, by the Constitutional Convention (*Acts*, 1868, p. 169); reestablished Dec. 9, 1869.—*Acts*, 1869-70, p. 6. [5] Name changed to "Jones," Aug. 6, 1868; and, Oct. 10, 1868, changed to original and present name.—*Acts*, 1868, pp. 84, 257. [6] Originally "Baine," for Gen. D. W. Baine, of Lowndes Co.; abolished Dec. 3, 1867, by the Constitutional Convention; reestablished with present name by Act, Dec. 1, 1868.—*Acts*, 1868, pp. 178, 359-361. [7] "Decatur" Co. was created

FROM WHAT TERRITORY TAKEN.	
Montgomery	[*Laws of Ala.*, 1823, p. 90. Acts, Ala. Ty., 2nd sess., 1818, pp. 56–57; Toulmin's [*Miss.*, 1816, p. 96; Toulmin, p. 81.
Washington originally, but reorganized	Acts, Miss. Ty., 1809, p. 83; Turner's *Statutes of*
Creek cession of Mar. 24, 1832, and Pike Co.	Acts of Ala., 1832–33, pp. 10–11.
Monroe and Montgomery	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp. 29–32; Toulmin, p. 87, 93,
Montgomery Co., and Cherokee cession	Acts. 1st sess. 1818, pp. 16–21; Toulmin, p. 86.
Barbour, Macon, Montgomery and Pike	Acts, 1866–7, pp. 65–68.
Conecuh and Montgomery	Acts, 1819, pp. 50–57, Toulmin, p. 91.
Creek cession of 1832	Acts, 1832–33, p. 9.
Creek cession of 1832	Acts, 1832–33, p. 10.
Cherokee cession of Dec. 29, 1835	Acts, 1835–36, pp. 170–171.
Autauga, Bibb, Perry and Shelby	Acts, 1868, pp. 488–490.
Sumter and Washington	Acts, 1847–48, pp. 306–312.
Washington	Acts, Miss. Ty., 1812, pp. 17–20; Toulmin, p. 83.
Randolph and Talladega	Acts, 1866–7, pp. 92–94.
Calhoun, Randolph and Talladega,	Acts, 1866–7, pp. 71–73.
Dale	Acts, 1841–2, pp. 152–155.
Franklin	Acts, 1866–7, pp. 351–353.
Monroe	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp. 96–98; Toulmin p. 88.
Creek cession of 1832	Acts, 1832–33, p. 9.
Henry	Acts, 1821, pp. 69, 70 and 71; Toulmin, p. 97.
Butler, Coffee, Covington, Lowndes and Pike	Acts, 1866–7, pp. 38–40.
Blount, Morgan, and Winston	Acts, 1876–77, pp. 69–71.
Henry and Covington	Acts, 1824, pp. 79–82.
Montgomery	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp. 47–48; Toulmin, p. 88.
Cherokee cession of 1835	Acts, 1835–36, pp.
Autauga, Coosa, Montgomery and Tallapoosa.	Acts, 1865–66, pp. 484–486.
Baldwin and Conecuh [and St. Clair.	Acts, 1868, pp. 397–400.
Blount, Calhoun, Cherokee, DeKalb, Marshall	Acts, 1866–7, pp. 76–78.
Marion, Pickens and Tuscaloosa	Acts, 1824, pp. 77–79.
Chicasaw and Cherokee cessions, 1816	Acts, 1st sess, 1818, pp. 8–12; Toulmin, p. 84.
Coffee, Dale and Henry	Acts, 1868, pp. 446–448.
Marengo and Tuscaloosa	Acts, 1819, pp. 50–57; Toulmin, p. 92.
Greene, Marengo, Perry and Tuscaloosa	Acts, 1866–7, pp. 477–480.
Conecuh	Acts, 1819, pp. 50–57; Toulmin, p. 92.
Cherokee cession of 1816	Acts, 1819, pp. 50–57; Toulmin, p. 93.
Blount	Acts, 1819, pp, 50–57: Toulmin, p. 92.
Fayette and Marion	Acts, 1866–67, pp. 323–325.
Chicasaw and Cherokee cessions, 1816	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp. 12–16; Toulmin p. 85.
Chicasaw and Cherokee cessions, 1816	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp 8–12; Toulmin, p. 84.
Chambers, Macon, Russell and Tallapoosa	Acts, 1866–7, pp. 50–53.
Chicasaw and Cherokee cessions, 1816	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp. 12–16; Toulmin, p. 85.
Butler, Dallas and Montgomery	Acts, 1829–30, pp. 25–26.
Creek cession of 1832	Acts, 1832–33, p. 9.
Chicasaw and Cherokee cessions, 1805 and 1807	Toulmin, p. 80.
Choctaw cession of Oct. 24, 1816	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp. 16–21; Toulmin, p. 86.
Tuscaloosa	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp. 96–98; Toulmin, p. 88.
Jackson, Blount and last Cherokee cession	Acts, 1835–36, pp.
Lousiana Purchase [1814.	Acts, Miss. Ty., 1812, pp. 37–42; Toulmin p. 83.
Washington County and all of Creek cession of	Proc. never printed. [p. 464 Toulmin, p. 83.
Monroe	Acts, Miss. Ty., 1816, p. 24; Turner's *Stat. of Miss.*,
Cherokee Turkeytown cession	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp. 8–12; Toulmin, pp. 84, 85.
Montgomery	Acts, 1819, pp. 50–57; Toulmin, p. 92.
Tuscaloosa	Acts, 1820, pp. 4, 92; Toulmin, p. 95.
Henry and Montgomery	Acts, 1821, pp. 71–2; Toulmin, p. 98.
Creek cession of 1832	Acts, 1832–33, p. 9.
Creek cession of 1832	Acts, 1832–33, p. 10.
Shelby	Acts, 2nd sess. 1818, pp. 18–21; Toulmin, p. 88.
Montgomery	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp. 29–32; Toulmin, p. 87.
Choctaw cession of 1832	Acts, 1832–33, p. 11.
Creek cession of 1832	Acts, 1832–33, p. 9.
Creek cession of 1832	Acts, 1832–33, p. 9.
Chickasaw and Choctaw cessions, 1816	Acts, 1st sess. 1818, pp. 16–21; Toulmin, p. 86.
Marion and Tuscaloosa	Acts, 1823, pp. 83–84.
Several Choctaw cessions	Toulmin's *Miss. Digest* (1807), p. 3', Turner's *Stat. of Miss.* (1816), p. 87; and Toulmin (1823), p. 79.
Dallas and Monroe	Acts, 1819, pp. 50–57; Toulmin, p. 90.
Walker	Acts, 1849–50, pp. 90–91.

Dec. 7, 1821 (*Acts.* 1821, p. 72), but was abolished in 1824, and its territory given to Madison and Jackson, Marshall Co. now has a portion of it. Woodville, in Jackson, was the County seat. [8] Originally "Jones," for E. P. Jones, Esq., of Fayette Co.; abolished Nov. 13, 1867, by the Constitutional Convention; reestablished Oct. 8, 1868, as "Sanford," for H. C. Sanford, Esq., of Cherokee Co. (*Acts*, 1868, p. 216); changed to present name Feb. 8, 1877.—*Acts*, 1876–77, p. 232. [9] Named for the town, river and bay. It is the "Mauvila" or "Mobila" of the Spanish; and the "Mobile" of the French. [10] Originally "Cotaco," of Indian origin; changed to present name June 14, 1821.—Toulmin, p. 85. [11] Originally "Hancock," for Gen. John Hancock, of Mass.; changed to present name Jan 22, 1858.—*Acts*, 1857–58, p. 327.

XVII. TOPOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND OBSERVATIONS ON THE ALABAMA RIVER, AUGUST, 1814.[1] BY MAJOR HOWELL TATUM.[2]

EDITED BY PETER J. HAMILTON AND THOMAS M. OWEN.

INTRODUCTION. By Mr. Hamilton.

This valuable manuscript of the first survey of the Alabama River is to be the property of the Mobile Historical Society, the gift of Mr. Louis Stein. It was found among the papers of his father, Albert Stein, the eminent engineer of New Orleans and Mobile, and builder of the Mobile City Water Works. It seems originally to have come from the papers of Mr. A. Cantrell, and was presented to Mr. Stein as having reference to Mobile. It is a book of 5¼x7½ inches, opening at the top, and is evidently field notes made on the boat as Tatum descended the river. The first use made of the document was in *Colonial Mobile*, pp. 374-376. A

[1]To Mr. Hamilton is due the courtesy of securing a copy of this valuable journal for the *Transactions*, which he has kindly caused to be made at his personal expense. The editorial notes and comments will it is hoped add an interest altogether beyond the text. Every effort has been made to secure accuracy.

[2] Maj. Howell Tatum was born probably in North Carolina. Particulars of his early life are unknown. The following is a summary of his Revolutionary War service in that State: Ensign, Sept. 1, 1775; Second Lieutenant, Jan. 4, 1776; Lieutenant, March 28, 1776; Captain, April 3, 1777; captured at fall of Charleston May 12, 1780; exchanged June 14, 1781. He was brevet Major.

At the meeting of the North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, 1785, he was elected Secretary, and he is supposed to have held that position at the date of his removal to Tennessee about 1790.

He is known to have held the following public offices in Tennessee: Treasurer Western District (Middle Tennessee), 1794-96; Attorney General of same, 1796-97; Supreme Court Judge, May 12, 1797, to Sept. 20, 1798, and afterwards (1807 about) one of the commissioners to adjust land claims between North Carolina and Tennessee.

Gardner's *Dictionary, Army of the U. S.* (1853), gives his record in the War of 1812: "Principal topog. engr. (rk Major) of Ten. Volrs. under M. Gen. Jackson, 26 Sept., '13 to May, '14; and again in the defence of N. Orleans, and disting. in battle of 8 Jan., '15."

Nothing is known of his family. He died in 1823, as appears from a statement in 3 Yerger's *Tenn. Reports*, p. 85. An effort is being made to collect materials for a full biographical sketch.

copy of the Journal is on file in the office of the Chief of Engineers, U. S. Army, but no map accompanies it.

The paper opens with Tatum's call by Andrew Jackson from Nashville to Fort Jackson. There he witnessed the treaty, or more properly capitulation, of the Creeks on August 9, 1814, which ended the great Creek War instigated by Tecumseh during the War of 1812 between the United States and Great Britain.

This, the greatest of all struggles between the white man and the Indian, began with the battle of Burnt Corn July 27, 1813, and its most striking early features were the massacre of Fort Mims near the Tensaw River on August 30, the Canoe Fight on the Alabama River below Fort Claiborne on November 12, and General Claiborne's victory at the Holy Ground on December 23. The Indians had intended to exterminate the settlements on the Bigbee and Tensaw, and so the war at first was largely defensive on the part of the whites. A painstaking study of this side of it will be found in Halbert and Ball's *Creek War.* Mobile had been captured by the American General Wilkinson on April 13, 1813, but the Indians spared it because their friends the Spaniards expected to recapture it.[3] The war assumed quite another character, however, when Jackson invaded the Creek territory from Tennessee by way of the Coosa Valley. When the struggle began, the Creeks were the undisputed owners of that part of Mississippi Territory embracing the Alabama River basin from the mountains to the Mobile, and of Georgia west of the Ocmulgee River. When it ended with the treaty referred to in the text, all west of the Coosa and a line drawn southeastwardly from Fort Jackson near Wetumpka, embracing the great agricultural centre of Alabama, was ceded to the United States and open to white settlement. Before then the settlers had been traders, who intermarried with the Indians, and only afterwards could there come pioneer white families of settlers. Tatum's Journal shows the river just at this turning point. He passes future city sites without knowing it, and dwells on Indian remains and battles.

The text of this treaty, which made Alabama possible by adding the eastern river basin to that of the well settled Tombigbee, may be found in 7 *United States Statutes at large*, p. 120, *et seq.*

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[3] Monette's *Valley Miss.*, vol. ii., p. 411, *note. See* Bibliographical Note to the paper on the "Surrender of Weatherford," *infra.*

The Journal.

On the 27th of June 1814 the undersigned received a letter of appointment from Maj. Gen[l]. Jackson, as Topographical Engineer of the 7th Military District, to which he was then attached as commanding General. This letter instructed me, in case of acceptance, to repair to his headquarters wherever they might be. On the 28th a letter of acceptance was written & forwarded, and on the sixth July I proceeded from Nashville, in Tennessee, and arrived at Head Quarters at Fort Jackson,[1] near the junction of the Coosa & Tallapoosa rivers on the morning of the 21st and reported my arrival to the Commanding General, and entered upon the duties attached to the office aforesaid. The Troops stationed at this post at the time of my arrival consisted of five companies of the 3d Regt. U. S. Infantry, supposed 500 strong, non-commissioned officers included.

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[1]This is on a bluff of the Coosa River a short distance below Wetumpka, where the Tallapoosa is in sight to the east. It was famous before Jackson's day, for he only repaired a fort built by the French in Bienville's time and called Fort Toulouse. This was built in 1714 and proved of great use in checking the military and commercial advance of the English from the Carolinas and Georgia. In their turn the English built Fort Okfuskee on the Tallapoosa to match the French, but were not so successful in Indian policy as their rivals. When by the treaty of Paris the British acquired the continent to the Mississippi River, these posts became of little value and Fort Toulouse was permitted to fall into decay. A fuller study of its history will be found in *Colonial Mobile*, pp. 158-165.

The most interesting early event connected with it was the massacre of Captain Marchand, placed by Pickett in 1722, and the execution of his murderers. Marchand's Indian daughter was, by the Scotch trader Lachlan McGillivray, the mother of the wily Alexander McGillivray (1746—Feb. 17, 1793), by some considered the most distinguished product of Alabama.

Another romantic incident of the history of the fort was that a commander is said to have lived there with a woman who claimed to be the escaped daughter-in-law of Peter the Great. The most famous later event was the surrender here to Jackson of McGillivray's nephew, William Weatherford, the head and front of the Creek war. This was before Tatum's arrival.

For some time after the close of hostilities a garrison was maintained there. It thus became a destination point for emigrants coming the Federal road from Georgia. The large influx of settlers in its vicinity and in the contiguous region caused the establishment of Montgomery County, Dec. 6, 1816, by the last Legislature of the Mississippi Territory. Ft. Jackson was designated as the temporary place of holding courts. In 1816 a Post Office had been established at the fort with Wm. R. Ross, of Va., as P. M. In June, 1817, was held the first Orphan's Court, of the County, Henry D. Stone being Chief Justice. Here subsequent sessions were held until May 9, 1818, when the Court convened at the "Town of Alabama." The site of the old fort has now been all but obliterated by the plough.

From the above date to the 11th August inclusive, the time of the General was principally taken up in arrangements for, and completing a capitulation with the Creek Nation, which was fully effected & signed on the day last mentioned, and forwarded to the department of War.

About this time Colonel P. Pippin[5] arrived from Fort Williams,[6] with part of his regiment of West Tennessee Militia, accompanied by Capt. I. S. Baker's[7] company of the 44th U. S. Infantry. On the arrival of this reinforcement, the commanding general caused preparations to be made for descending the Coosa & Alabama to Mobile, with the regular forces then at that place, and on the 11th of the same month proceeded in boats then at that place, by which the 3d had heretofore ascended, leaving Col. Pippin in command of that Fort and Fort Decatur,[8] to which post a company of said militia had been previously detached as a relief to the North Carolina militia then at that place. The descent of the river commenced at 1 o'clock p. m. The undersigned embarked on board of the same boat with the Command General & his staff, with instructions to take the courses & distances of the Alabama river in the descent, from the junction of the Coosa and Tallapoosa, as correctly as could be done under existing circumstances. The result is as follows, viz:

August 11th, 1814

Embarked at 1 O'clock P. M. & proceeded down the Coosa river to its junction with the Tallapoosa, 6 Miles 40 ch. Thence S° 25° W^t 40 chains.

S° 45 W^t 40 chains rec'd a creek from the left at this distance and find the lands good on both sides

S° 10 W^t 40 ch. on the left is a rich bend,[9] (formed partly by the Tallapoosa) which includes several small Indian plantations—

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[5]This was Philip Pipkin, of Tenn., Col. 1st West Tenn. reg. 6 mos. mila Volrs. June 20, 1814.

[6]At the mouth of Cedar Creek in Talladega County about 60 miles above Ft. Jackson; built by Gen. Jackson before he marched to Horse Shoe bend and named for Col. John Williams, of the 39th Inf.

[7]Isaac L. Baker, of Ken., who did valuable service in the army, 1812-1817.

[8]On the Tallapoosa river; built by the troops under Col. Homer V. Milton, in March, 1814. Gov. John Sevier, of Tenn., while locating the Creek boundary, died and was buried there in 1815. Within the last decade his remains have been removed to his native State.

[9]Now called the "Big Bend."

the land is low, level & rich on both sides— The river shoally from the junction to this place—passed to the right of an Island.

N° 55 W^t 40 ch. Bluff & plantation on the left.

N° 30 W^t 1 M. to the upper end of a high bluff on the right—lands low and rich on both sides to this place— Improvements on the right.

West 30 chains. Bluff cont^d on the right—low & rich on the left— Spring on the right at the end.

S° 25 W^t 20 ch. The Coosawda Town[10] stood on a high bluff on the right, until burned by Col. Gibson[11] of the Tennessee Volunteers in April last—lands low & rich on the left

S° 30 E^t 1 M. rich fields & land on the right, below the Coosawda and level rich land on the left—a small creek from the left 60 ch. supposed to be Weatherfords Creek.

S° 10 W^t 2 M—Lands low on the left & higher on the right & good on both sides—passed to the left of a large Island.

S° 55 W^t 40 ch. lands low & rich on both sides

S° 45 E^t 20 ch. } Shoal water for this distance good lands
S° 80 E^t 20 ch. } cont^d on both sides

S° 35 E^t 40 ch.—to a bluff on the right lands appear good on both sides to this place—at 20 ch. received a small creek from the left.

S° 25 E^t 30 ch. lands low & rich on both sides

S° 20 W^t 30 ch. to the upper end of a Red Bluff lands good on both sides—Piney on the bluff (say on the left)

West 20 ch. Bluff continues on the left.

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[10] During the Creek War all hostile Indians were known as Creeks, but so far as this was used genetically it was incorrect. To the French this region above and below the river junction was "Aux Alibamons," and from it the main stream received the name which has named the State of Alabama. They were allies of the Muscogees, but more likely Choctaw in blood. Coosada (Conshati) was one of the principal Alibamon settlements. Its inhabitants, at least in part, abandoned it after the peace of Paris, and Romans in 1772 notes them as having been on the lower Tombigbee and Mobile near the kindred Okchays. Hawkins says in 1798 that some had gone beyond the Mississippi; but he anticipated their return. Coo-sau-dee he describes as a compact little town opposite some conic mounds of earth. It is on the west bank of the river, three miles below the confluence of the Coosa and Tallapoosa. *See* Wyman's paper on "Early Times," etc., *supra.*

[11] John H. Gibson, of Tenn., Maj. of Tenn. Cavalry Vols. 1812-1814; Lt. Col. of Dyer's Reg., Coffee's Brigade Tenn. Mounted Gunmen Sept. 28, 1814; distinguished and wounded in first battle of New Orleans, Dec. 23, 1814.

N° 25 W^t 30 ch. good lands on both sides--a clearing on the right.

N° 65 W^t 1 M. good lands on both sides—Encamped on the left at 10½ Ms. from the Junction and from the Fort—17M.

12th

Proceeded at 5 O'Clock A. M.

N° 60 W^t 20 ch. lands high & good on both sides

N° 80 W^t 30 ch. to a bluff on the right—good lands on both sides—best on the left.

S° 55 W^t 20 ch--along the bluff on the right—with rocky banks & Piney land—good land on the left—Small Creek on the left near the end of this distance.

S° 10 E^t 40 ch. along the bluff on the right—good and high on the left—the bluff ends at this place.

S° 60 E^t 40 ch. Small branch from the left at the commencement.

S° 45 E^t 3 M^s. 40 ch.—lands good on both sides—pass to the left of an Island from 2½ to 3 miles on this course—a large Impv^t. on the right opposite the Island—some Improvements on the left this course ends at the upper end of a high bluff on the left on which formerly stood the Taw-wassa[12] Indian Town—this is called Weatherfords bluff-- The improvements on the right are very extensive on the bank of the river, say for 2 miles or more above & below this old Town.

South 20 ch along the bluff— This bluff has high red banks—Improvements continue on the right—Spring to the right at commencement.

S° 80 W^t 20 ch. along the bluff—This bluff is about 100 feet high its whole distance.

N° 45 W^t 40 ch. Bluff cont^d on left—banks mixed with yellow Ochre—Fields cont^d on the right—the whole of rich land on the right. Weatherfords old place of residence is on the right near the end of this distance.

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[12] This was probably the Touacha named in Penicaut and other French narratives. Some of this tribe were settled by Bienville above the present site of Mobile. Their name is commemorated by a branch of Bayou Sara near Mobile. Hawkins described it in 1798-9 as a small village on a high bluff. The Weatherford, for whom this bluff was called in Tatum's time, was William Weatherford, the Red Eagle of the Creek War, about whom has gathered so much legend. The city of Montgomery is three miles above the site of Tawasa, but its first settler, Andrew Moore did not arrive until next year, 1815.

N° 70 W^t 3 Miles—passed to the right of an Island at ½ to ¾ m^s—Spring branch ¼ M^s above the island, from the right—passed the lower end of the Tawwassaw Towns or Villages at 1 Mile—Here ends the bluff—passed 3 other Islands one of which is high & timbered. islands near compleat the whole of this distance—good lands to the left for the last 40 ch—lands good to the right the whole distance.

N° 45 W^t 20 ch—Improvements end at ½ distance and bluff commences on the right & ends at a short distance—good on the left.

N° 80 W^t 60 ch. passed to the right of a small Island—good lands on both sides—Improvements on the right.

North—60 ch. passed to the right of 2 small Islands at 20 ch.—Large Improvements on the right—lands rather thin on both sides in part of this distance

N° 25 W^t 40 ch. lands good on both sides Improv^t continues on the right.

N° 15 W^t 40 ch. branch from the right at 15 ch and improvements end—lands good on both sides

N° 50 W^t 20 ch—Spring on the right

S° 70 W^t 1 mile—passed to the left of an Island a large improv^t opposite, on the right—rich lands on the left—A bluff on the left for half this distance

West 30 ch. To a bluff on the right, a small distance below the last named Improv^t a branch to the right at the lower end of the same improv^t.

S° 25 W^t 1 m 20 ch. Short bluff & rocky shore on the right—course ends at a bluff on the left—a reddish good land on the right.

S° 50 W^t 30 ch Bluff on the left & thin lands thereon—Improv^t on the right

S° 70 W^t 40 ch. Bluff cont^d on the left—Creek from the right at 15 ch lower lands on the right than on the left

S° 55 W^t 1 m. 40 ch. Lands good on both sides

S° 80 W^t 1 m. 20 ch. passed to the left of an Island

N° 60 W^t 20 ch. Rocky Bluff on the left good lands on the right

N° 65 W^t—20 ch. to a Bluff on the right commencing at half distance by 2 very high hills of a conical form with a narrow Val-

ley & Spring branch between. The lower hill composed of a substance resembling red paint, like unto that used by the savages—On this Bluff is the old Indian Town called Au-tau-ga, a creek from the right above the bluff—The creek appears handsome—name not known[13]

S° 60 W^t 20 ch along the bluff, Improv^ts on rich land to the left —Autauga is a beautiful situation with valuable rich lands on the opposite shore

South 1 m. pass to the left of an Island—a valuable plantation on the left side and a large one on the right opposite and below the Town of Autauga.

S° 10 E^t 1 mile a bluff on the left for the lower fourth of this distance & an Improvement.

S° 30 W^t 1 mile—passing to the left of an Island[14]—Passed the mouth of Cat-too-ma Creek[15] from the left at 20 ch—The lands between Weatherfords bluff and this Creek are represented to be very good to the mouth of said Creek, both on, and off the river

S° 65 W^t 30 ch to an improvement on the right, on a bluff—lands good on both sides

S° 60 W^t 40 ch passed 2 good springs to the right

South 20 ch

S° 5 E^t 1 M 40 chains leaving a large Island of at least 100 acres to the right—an Improv^t on the Island

S° 10 W^t 40 ch to an Improv^t & low bluff on the left bank, opposite the lower end of the large Island

S° 70 W^t 4 M 40 ch—Passing Path-lau-la Creek[16] from the

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[13] Autauga Creek. Hawkins describes the neighboring village (At-tau-gee) as small but spread out for two miles. The inhabitants were hospitable but had little intercourse with the whites. They threw away whatever a white man left of a meal and immediately washed everything used by the guest. See Hawkins' *Sketch of Creek Country*, 1798, pp. 35-7. At this point was located the town of Washington, first County seat of Autauga.

[14] Hadnot's Island

[15] Catoma Creek, just below Montgomery. According to Dr. W. S Wyman, in an article in the Montgomery *Souvenir*, 1898, the word was originally Okee-tomee, Alabama (not Creek) words meaning "Sunny Water," or, literally, "Water-Sunny." It is now crossed by many railroads.

[16] Pintlala Creek on modern maps. The island above it is Manack's Island, for whom the creek is also sometimes called.

left at 20 ch and passed to the right of an Island opposite the mouth of the Creek—passed to the right of a 2d small Island—at 1 Mile below which are large Improvements on the left—lands good on both sides.

No 65 Wt 20 ch Wm. Weatherfords plantations on the right on excellent land. Hatche-soop-ka, or Steep Creek[17] empties into the river at 10 ch—This creek is sometimes called Tallawassa by the natives.

No 30 Wt 60 ch. passed to the right of an island, plantations, or improvts continuing on the right—lands thin on the left—Improvt on the left opposite an Island—Spring on the right—landed & watered.

No 30 Wt 40 ch. contd same course passed a fine spring to the right at 20 ch.

No 55 Wt 20 ch along a high bluff on our right, piney, and a rocky shore—lands good on the left.

West 1 mile passed 3 fine springs to the right at 20 ch—lands thin on the right, rich on the left—Rocky on the left bank at the end of this distance.

No 65 Wt 1 mile—Passed to the right of an Island at 20 to 40 ch

So 80 Wt 40 ch A high, handsome, Piney Bluff on the right—level, rich lands on the left—This bluff is the site of an Old Town.[18]

So 30 Wt 40 ch. to the end of the bluff—spring branch at the commencement.

So 20 Wt 30 ch good lands on both sides

No 60 Wt 1 M 40 ch—passed to the right of an Island—Rockey bluff 20 ch on the left to the upper end of the Island—lower end timbered & improved 60 ch long—Shoal below.

No 25 Wt 20 ch along a bluff to the left—a field on the right.

No 10 Et 1 M 40 ch. passed to the right of an Island— an improvt on the left—Bluff on the right at the lower end of this distance

North 20 ch. and Encamped on the right bank, at the lower end of the bluff—at the distance this day of 43 miles

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[17] This may be the location of the Bear Fort of the French, found on a map of 1732. See map in *Colonial Mobile*, p. 158.

[18] Perhaps the site of the old village of Vernon, Autauga Co., or some point in that vicinity.

13th

Proceeded at half past 5 O'Clock

N° 40 W^t 20 ch—Improved on the left

N° 80 W^t 20 ch—Bluff to the right & 2 springs

S° 45 W^t 30 ch—Bluff cont^d on the right—a large Improv^t on the left on very rich land

S° 65 W^t 30 ch—Improv^t on the right—Spring on the left at the end of distance

West 1 Mile—passed an Island to the right—a creek from the right at 20 ch

S° 60 W^t 40 ch—passed to the right of an Island & a spring opposite

S° 10 W^t 40 ch passed to the right of an Island improved

S° 30 E^t 20 ch cont^d along the improved Island .

S° 10 E^t 30 ch lands good on both sides

S° 30 W^t 40 ch Improv^t on the right

S° 35 W^t 1 M. 20 ch. A branch from the left at 20 ch—low, flat, bottom land on the right—a little higher & rich on the left —a branch from the right at 40 ch. another from the left at 1 Mile

S° 60 W^t 10 ch. to a bluff on the left with rocky banks the river 80 yds wide here— It is generally from 150 to 200 yds wide.

N° 80 W^t 1 Mile 20 ch—passed along the bluff 20 ch to an Island & through the channel on the right—lands high on the left—rich bottom on the right & a spring opposite the lower part of the Island.

S° 70 W^t. 20 ch. Chue, sa, be, ku, or the Holy Ground, [19] a bluff on the left bank of the river about 40 ch^s. long—It is a high bluff of level hickory, oak & pine land of tolerable good quality—a part has been cleared, but not cultivated as it was only used as a place of revelling by the war party. On the opposite side the lands are exceedingly rich and contains a fine field for cultivation.

A, mo, ha, te, jah, the prophet killed at the time Genl. Clai-

[19]Here occurred the battle of December 23, 1813, when General F. L. Claiborne defeated Weatherford and burned this strong-hold. It was over this bluff that Weatherford leaped his horse Arrow and escaped. Tradition makes it quite a feat, while modern iconoclasts declare the bluff but ten or twelve feet high. Tatum calls it "a high bluff," but then he saw it in August when the river was low, and Weatherford cleared it on December when the water was high and the bluff was not. For description of the "Holy Ground" *see* Halbert's "Creek War Incidents," *infra.*

bourne & Col. Russel attacked the place, lived at the upper end of the Holy Ground—He was joined at this place by Hillishajah (Josiah Frances) or the Mad-Physic, another prophet, and by their Prophesies & influence the party was collected & embodied, and placed under the command of Wm. Weatherford, a half-breed, and others, for the attack & distruction of Fort Mimms, near the Cut off, which was effected.

No 20 Wt 20 ch

No 30 Wt 60 ch Spring on the left at 20 ch

North 60 ch a fine spring on the left near the commencement. and a handsome bluff—fine lands opposite—passed to the right of an Island

No 5 Et 40 ch Bluff continues & thin land on the left the whole distance—Rich lands on the right—small improvt. on the right, near the end

No 45 Wt 20 ch. Bluff[20] ends on the left & commences on the right—High & Piney lands on the left rich

West 20 ch.—Bluff contd on the right—spring branch to the right & rich lands on the left

So 30 Wt 1 Mile along the bluff (say 150 feet high, perpendicular) passed to the left of an Island at half distance—fine rich lands on the left, a small creek[21] from the right at the end of the bluff above the Island—fine rich land below the creek— rich high land on the left opposite the Island

So 50 Wt 60 ch passed to the left of an Island 20 ch rich lands on both sides—low bluff on the left & lands high & thinner than those on the right.

No. 80 Wt. 1 M 60 ch A field to the right on rich land—good on the left—passed to the left of an Island.

No. 65 Wt. 30 ch rich on both sides to the upper end of a bluff on the right

So. 45 Wt. 30 ch along the bluff[22] on the right

South 30 ch. Bluff continues on the right rich farming lands on the left—small creek to the right at 10 ch—bluff ends at the creek[23]—good lands below

So. 10 Et. 60 ch Bluff to the right for a short distance—bluff

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[20] House Bluff.

[21] Beaver Creek.

[22] Jones' Bluff.

[23] Ivy Creek.

bears off from the river and leaves a slip of good lands on the margin—very rich on the left.

S°. 30 W^{t}. 30 ch Rich lands on both sides[24]

S°. 20 E^{t}. 20 ch.—The same

S°. 30 E^{t}. 1 Mile—High lands on the right of Pine, Oak & hickory growth—Rich bottom on the left— good land commences, also, on the right at 30 ch & continues.

S°. 20 E^{t}. 1 Mile—Good lands on both sides[24]

S°. 10 W^{t}. 40 ch. lands good on both sides

S°. 30 W^{t}. 2 Miles 40 ch. Good lands on both sides continues the whole distance—field to the right at the end.

S°. 50 W^{t}. 40 ch Improvement on the right cont^{d}.

S°. 70 W^{t}. 20 ch.—

West—20 ch. an Improvement on the right

N°. 80 W^{t}. 20 ch Improv^{t}. cont^{d}. on the right

N°. 65 W^{t}. 40 ch—Passed the mouth of Pil-loop, loc, co, or Big-Swamp Creek[25] at 20 ch from the left—field still continues on the right.

N°. 30 W^{t}. 40 ch. Field continues on the right—good lands on the left to this point—The large Improv^{t}. on the right is Wau, be, gus, kee old Town[26]—A creek from the left one mile below Big-Swamp Creek, lands thin on the left near the lower end of this distance—a small branch from the right

N°. 10 W^{t}. 1 Mile Improv^{t}. on the right still continues—passed to the right of an Island at half distance—Improv^{ts}. on the right cease at the upper end of the Island at the end of 3 M^{s}. & 20 ch. from its commencement. Good lands on both sides on the last course & distance

N°. 10 E^{t}. 20 ch Improv^{t}. on the right—lands high on the left with pine

N°. 35 E^{t}. 20 ch—Bluff on the left—Improv^{t}. cont^{d}. on the right—bluff Rocky with pine, Oak & hickory growth

N°. 40 E^{t}. 40 ch bluff cont^{d}. half distance good lands from thence on both sides—fine spring on the right bank at the end.

North—30 ch—Mostly along a bluff on the right—good lands

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[24] These references are to the fine lands on both sides of the river from Jones' Bluff to Benton.

[25] In Lowndes County, also called Letohatchee, flowing into the river at or near Benton.

[26] Still called "Old Town Creek."

on the left—a branch on the right near the end—Here the bluff commences.

N°. 30 W^t^. 1 Mile—corn field on the left

N°. 40 W^t^. 40 ch A creek or branch from the right—passed a small Island.

N°. 5 W^t^. 50 ch to the lower end of a sand bank on the right—passed a creek from the right—corn field on the left.

☞ Indian sign was discovered at the corn field, supposed of the war party

Encamped on the Sand Bank for the night at 29 Miles 40 chains

14th

Proceeded at 5 o'clock A. M.

N°. 30 W^t^. 20 ch

N°. 40 W^t^. 1 Mile passed to the right of an Island

N°. 45 W^t^. 1 M. 40 ch—passed to the left of large Island

N°. 15 W^t^. 1 Mile—passed to the left of an Island bluff to the left opposite the Island, lands good on both sides to this place—say 40 ch above the end of the distance—Bank rocky at the bluff.

North 40 ch Improvements on both sides Durants[27] old place called by the natives Pilth, to, hau, loth, cau. It is a large Improv^t^. and continues the full length of next course— lands here are rich on both sides—Durants place is on the right

N°. 40 E^t^. 40 ch—Field cont^d^., as stated.

N°. 60 E^t^. 40 ch

N°. 75 E^t^ 1 Mile—passed to the left of an Island[28]—Improv^t^. on the right—shoal water at the lower end of this distance

N°. 40 E^t^. 20 ch. Bluff on the right & spring—Bottom land on the left.

N°. 45 W^t^. 20 ch. to the head of an Island[29]

N°. 80 Wt. 1 mile 40 ch—pass to the right of an Island—bluff cont^d^. on the right & ends opposite the Island—good lands on the left to the lower end of the Island, then good on both sides—shoally a great part of this distance

N°. 55 W^t^. 40 ch to a high red bluff on the right—lands good

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[27] Benjamin Durant, of Huguenot ancestry of South Carolina, married Sophia, sister of the famous Alexander, and daughter of Lachlan McGillivray, whose wife was the Indian maiden Sehoy Marchand.

[28] Gaston.

[29] Old Hell.

on both sides, a good looking creek[30] from the right 10 ch above the end of this distance.

S°. 80 W^t^. 20 ch—Bluff cont^d^. on the right.

S°. 25 W^t^. 1 mile passed to the left of a large Island[31]—Improvement on the left opposite passed 2 other Islands—An Improv^t^. on the left at the end of the distance—Cypress pond on the right.

S°. 60 E^t^. 1 Mile Rich lands on both sides

S°. 25 W^t^. 30 ch. A handsome bluff on the left on which is M^rs^. Durants old place[32]—Bottom on the right and low.

S°. 35 W^t^. 30 ch bluff continues on the left and open lands—bottom on the right.

S°. 75 W^t^. 1 mile. Bluff & open woods continues on the left. Bottom on the right

S°. 70 W^t^. 20 ch to the upper end of a bluff on the right—bottom lands on the left

S°. 30 W^t^. 20 ch Along the bluff on the right—Bottom continues on the left—a good spring in the bluff at half distance.

South 20 ch along the bluff—Bottom continues on the left

S°. 30 E^t^. 1 m. 40 ch. A fine spring on the right in the bank of the bluff—rich bottom on the left—bluff ends at 20 ch.

South 30 ch, to Bluff on the left—bottom on both sides to the bluff.

S°. 30 W^t^. 20 ch Along the bluff—bottom on the right,—open, thin, pine land on the bluff.

S°. 60 W^t^. 30 ch. Bluff cont^d^. on the left & bottom on the right—Bluff ends & good lands on both sides

S°. 45 W^t^. 3 Miles—passed to the right of an Island—Rich lands on both sides the whole distance—A creek[33] from the left at 2 M. 60 ch—A field of corn to the right opposite the creek

S°. 65 W^t^. 2 miles—Appearance of rich lands on both sides—3 springs on the right at different distances—Pine lands on the left for the last 40 ch.

West 20 ch—High pine lands on the left and rich on the right

N°. 70 W^t^. 30 ch—Pine hill cont^d^. on the left—rich bottom on the right

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[30] Mulberry Creek.

[31] Gardner's Island.

[32] The river, having made a great bend, again touches the Durant Place. *See* Note 27.

[33] Soapstone Creek, also called Tarver's Mill Creek.

N°. 45 W^t^. 1 mile—Pine lands cont^d^. on the left 20 ch. Spring branch on the right at 40 ch—good lands on both sides, bottom ceases on the right at 60 ch and a handsome bluff commences of open land & rocky banks.

N°. 85 W^t^. 1 mile—Bluff cont^d^. on the right [?]—rich lands opposite, on the left—Bluff on the right ends at 20 ch and good land commences—small spring at the end of the bluff—High, rich lands commence on the left at half distance.

N°. 75 W^t^. 1 m. 20 ch—passed to the left of an Island at 60 ch —good high lands on the left—rich bottom on the right— a branch from the left—Improv^t^. on the right, below the Island

N°. 50 W^t^. 1 mile—A high, open, Prairie bluff on the left—Improv^t^. cont^d^. on the right & very rich bottom—passed to the left of an Island at from 20 to 40 ch—rich lands on the left from the upper end of the Island—Spring on the right, opposite the lower end of the Island.

N°. 30 W^t^. 60 ch—The river shoally—Improvement on the right—Pine bluff on the left containing several springs & rocky banks—good lands opposite, and also below a sand beach on the left— rich lands on the right & a spring—A handsome bold runing branch, opposite the lower end of the beach, at an Improv^t^. on the right—High lands to the right at the end of this distance, intermixed with pine.

N°. 65 W^t^. 30 ch to a bluff on the right[34]—rich lands on the left—thin on the right.

S°. 65 W^t^. 40 ch along a piney bluff on the right—rich lands on the left

S°. 55 W^t^. 2 M 40 ch—passed to the left of an Island,—Improv^t^. & corn field on the right, at the mouth of a creek,[35] A creek on the left—good lands on both sides

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[34]This and the two succeeding paragraphs must refer to Selma and contiguous country, first called "High Soap Stone Bluff," but on the location of a town here, called Selma at the suggestion of Hon. William R. King.

"The few white men who were in this part of the country as early as 1809 and 1810 knew this place as 'High Soap Stone Bluff,' but later in 1815, a white man by the name of Thomas Moore, having made his way through the wilderness from Tennessee, located at this point, the place taking the name of 'Moore's Bluff,' from the few persons of that day who traded on the Alabama River in pole boats, yawls and dug-outs, which name the place retained until December 4th, 1820."—Hardy's *History of Selma* (1879), p. 7.

[35]Valley Creek.

S°. 70 W^t^. 2 miles— good lands continue on the right—thin, high lands & rocky banks on the left—good on the left at 1 mile —passed to the right of a small Island

S°. 65 W^t^. 40 ch. good lands on both sides

S°. 30° W^t^. 40 ch—High good lands & rocky shore to the right —rich bottom on the left

South—20 ch to a bluff of pine lands & rocky shore on the right—Rich on the left—a bad shoal—the best channel to the right—bluff ends at 20 ch.

S°. 40 E^t^. 1 mile—passed to the left of an Island—rocky banks to the left & good high lands—Bottom on the right.

S°. 60 E^t^. 30 ch. good lands on both sides

S°. 70 E^t^. 30 ch—A handsome bluff of tolerable good land, and a smooth rock bank on the right—rich bottom on the left. The bluff on the right continues the whole of this distance

N°. 50 E^t^. 30 ch—Bluff continues on the right—Bottom, and corn field on the left.

North 1 mile—Bluff cont^d^. on the right—a small creek & good lands on the left

N°. 45 E^t^. 10 ch. to a rocky bluff on the left

East 10 ch. along the rocky bluff[36]—bottom on the right

S°. 30 E^t^. 1 mile—Bluff cont^d^. on the left & bottom on the right—Bluff ends at half distance and good lands commence.

S°. 45 E^t^. 3 miles—good lands on both sides—passed to the left of an Island at 40 ch—corn field on the right—a bad shoal at half distance

S°. 30 E^t^. 1 mile—good lands on both sides—Improv^t^. on the right as 20 ch and cont^d^. the whole distance—small creek on the left near the end.

South 10 ch along a rocky bluff[37] on the left—Improv^t^. cont^d^. on the right

S°. 40 W^t^. 10 ch. Bluff cont^d^. on the left—rich land and Improv^t^. cont^d^. on the right

S°. 70 W^t^. 10 ch Rocky bluff cont^d^. on the left—good lands & Improv^t^. cont^d^ on the right—thin lands on the bluff.

West—20 ch. Appears the same as on last course Improv^t^. continues—

N°. 65 W^t^. 3 miles—Lands thin on the left 1 mile thin good

[36] King's Bluff, and King's Bend, called in honor of Hon. Wm. R. King.
[37] Hatcher's Bluff.

on both sides—best on the right—Improv^{t}. on the right—ends on this course at 20 ch.

S^{o}. 80 W^{t}. 1 m & 40 ch passed, immediately, to the left of an Island—a fine spring on the left opposite the head of the Island—rocky banks on the left—rich lands on both sides.

S^{o}. 60 W^{t}. 1 mile—good lands on both sides—a bluff rises on the right at 40 ch & lands thinner on that side.

S^{o}. 40 W^{t}. 1 m. 40 ch—Bluff ends & good lands on both sides continues—highest on the right—The Cau, hau, ba river enters from the right at the termination of this distance[38]—The lands excellent above.

S^{o}. 5 W^{t}. 60 ch—good lands on the right for 20 ch to a bluff which continues the whole of this distance—Rich bottom on the left.

S^{o}. 10 E^{t}. 1 m. 40 ch Tolerable good, high, bluff lands on the right—Rich bottom on the left—A rocky bluff of good lands commences on the right near the end of this distance, and a rich piece of land above.

S^{o}. 45 E^{t}. 1 mile, Bluff of Rock with good lands on its summit for 20 ch where the rock ends at a sand beach on the right, or same side—Rich lands (bottom) on the left to near the end of this distance, where high lands & bluff commences—Bottom on the right, below the sand beach—Spring in the bluff near the end—another at the end—a branch from the left.

Encamped on the left shore at 51 M. 60 ch

15

Proceeded at 5 o'clock A. M.

South 1 mile—good lands on both sides

S^{o}. 45 W^{t}. 30 ch. good on both sides with a rocky shore on the left.

S^{o} 75 W^{t}. 40 ch—Rocky shore on the left with high good lands[39]—Bottom on the right

West—60 ch—passed an Island to the left—a fine spring on the left shore near the head where the rocky shore ends—lands good on both sides

S^{o}. 75 W^{t}. 1 Mile—good lands on both sides—a rocky shore on the left commences near the end.

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[38] The Cahaba region is later described at some length and declared to be an Arcadia.

[39] Near the present King's landing.

N°. 75 W^t^. 30 ch along a rocky shore on the left & high lands —bottom on the right.

N°. 50 W^t^. 1 mile—Passed to the right of an Island—good lands on both sides

N°. 75 W^t^. 60 ch. to the upper end of a high rocky bluff on the right of poor pine lands—good on both sides to the bluff—small creek from the right above the bluff

S°. 50 W^t^. 20 ch along the bluff—bottom on the left—This bluff is a white rock 100 feet high[40]—the river not more than 80 yds wide at this place

S°. 10 W^t^. 20 ch along the bluff to the head of an Island.

S°. 10 E^t^. 1 mile—passed to the left of an Island—a creek breaks through the bluff near the lower end—the bluff then continues about 10 ch from whence the land on the right becomes lower & better—bottom continued on the left to this point.

S°. 25 E^t^. 1 m 20 ch passed a short bluff, on the left, at 60 ch. good lands on both sides—Rocky on the left shore, the last 20 ch.

S°. 20 E^t^. 30 ch to the upper end of a high bluff on the right—good lands on both sides.

S°. 60 E^t^. 1 mile—passed to the left of an Island—The bluff on the right ends at the Island—bottom on the left—good high lands on the right from the upper end of the Island to the end of this course.

S°. 75 E^t^. 1 mile—good lands on both sides—a rocky shore the last 20 ch.

East 1 m 40 ch—Rocky shore cont^d^. on the right for 20 ch—passed to the left of an Island—a branch from the right runs through the bluff at 20 ch above the Island—good lands on both sides—spring to the left opposite the Island—Rocky banks on the left & high rich lands—A large creek[41] from the left at the end of the course

S°. 55 E^t^. 1 mile—Rocky bluff on the left of high good land—bottom on the right—passed to the right of an Island

S°. 25 E^t^. 1 mile—passed to the right of an Island—good lands on both sides—A large corn field on the right, of fine corn, near the end of the distance—landed on the right and destroyed the field and took as much of the corn as the troops thought proper. It lies opposite to an encampment occupied by Col°.

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[40] White's bluff, Dallas County.

[41] Cedar Creek.

Pearson of the North Corolina Militia in May or June last—It is of considerable extent, as will be seen by the following notes, and is situated on a valuable tract of bottom land contained in a large bend on the west side of the river—The field commences 20 ch above the place of landing—

Col. Pearsons Encampment is 10 ch below, on the opposite side, an a high bluff[42] of thin pine land—It is a handsome situation overlooking the whole extent of the bend, & bottom opposite on the west

South—30 ch—The above bluff on the left & the field cont^d. on the right.

S°. 25 W^t. 40 ch—The bluff lower on the left—field cont^d. on the right—a dry creek from the left at the end of the bluff—The bluff[43] commences again at the end of this distance—field ends at 15 ch.

S°. 60 W^t. 1 M 20 ch—Bluff on the left 20 ch branch on the right at 60 ch—bottom on both sides below the bluff, and the whole distance on the right.

S°. 45 W^t. 1 m 60 ch good lands on both sides—small creek from the left at 40 ch. bluff land on the left at 60 ch & rocky shore—bluff low—bottom on the right—a spring to the right opposite the lower end of the bluff.

S°. 70 W^t. 2 miles— Rocky, bluff, banks on the left, but low for 60 ch to the head of an Island—passed it to the left—Bottom & spring on the right 10 ch above the Island—lands rich, and a cainey bottom on the left from above the Island, and opposite the Spring on the right—Rocky banks on the right for the last 20 ch—lands high & rich

S°. 60 W^t. 40 ch to the upper end of a rocky bluff on the left—handsome creek[44] from the left at the end of the distance

N°. 70 W^t. 1 m 20 ch—a bluff of thin timbered land 40 feet high, on the left—bottom on the right.

N°. 45 W^t. 1 mile—Bluff continues on the left & bottom on the right—Bluff ends at 20 ch and good land on both sides the balance of this distance—A small spring on the right, opposite the lower end of the bluff.

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[42] Militia Bluff, as appears from La Tourrette's *Maps of Ala.*, 1838 and 1856.

[43] Elm bluff.

[44] White Oak Creek.

West 30 ch along a handsome bluff to the right—a fine spring on the bluff at 15 ch—Bottom on the left.

S°. 45 W^t^. 1 m 60 ch—bluff cont^d^. bottom cont^d^. on the left—passed to the right of an Island at 40 ch—Shoal water below the left shore the best passage—The bluff ends at 40 ch—Excellent lands below—rocky, low bluff commences on the left at 1 m 20 ch—Rich land on the bluff—branch to the left near the end of this distance.

S°. 75 W^t^. 40 ch—Bluff cont^d^. on the left and bottom on the right—pine on the bluff at the end of this distance—Spring branch on the right at 10 ch.

N°. 75 W^t^. 2 m 10 ch. Bluff cont^d^. on the left and bottom on the right—The bluff is high but it appears to consist of good land intermixed with pine—A large creek[45] from the right/left 5 ch. above the end of this distance—a bluff commences at the Creek & extends down the river—on the right

S°. 80 W^t^. 20 ch. along a handsome bluff on the right—bottom on the left.

S°. 50 W^t^. 60 ch.—Spring near the commencement on the right—bluff cont^d^. on the right—bottom on the left—passed to the right of an Island at from 20 to 40 ch—Bluff high & piney at the end of this distance—for the last half mile it is low & rich. Spring on the right 10 chain above the end of this distance.

South 1 M 20 ch—High pine lands on the right—Rich bottom on the left—Pine lands recede from the river at 40 ch & leaves a narrow bottom on the right, which widens in the descent, and extends across a bend on that side at the distance of 20 ch above the end of this course—

S°. 10 E^t^. 30 ch.—Bottom on both sides—Creek[46] on the right at the commencement

S°. 15 West—40 ch bottom on the right—High lands on the left mixed with Pine growth but appears good—Pine continues about 40 ch. after which it is high rich land

S°. 30 W^t^. 2 M 40 ch—good high lands on the left—bottom on the right—A handsome creek[47] from the left at 1 m 40 ch—

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[45] Bogue Chitto.
[46] Chilatchee.
[47] Pine Barren.

Pine lands near the river 2 Miles, branch on the right at 1 m 60 ch—Spring on the right 15 ch above the end of this course

S°. 5 E^t^. 30 ch—High pine lands to the right—Bottom on the left

S° 20 E^t^. 30 ch—Pine lands cont^d^. on the right & bottom on the left—a small creek[48] from the right

S°. 45 E^t^. 40 ch Pine lands cont^d^. on the right & bottom on the left. Creek on the right at 20 ch—lands better on the right, below the creek.

S°. 55 E^t^. 2 M 40 ch—High lands cont^d^. on the right & bottom on the left—The high lands descends to a bottom 20 ch below the commencement of this distance—Passed to the left of an Island—Improv^t^. & corn field on the right—at the termination of this course, commences an Elegant Red Bluff, very level on the top, and appears to contain the site of An Ancient Town or village. There appears to be from 100 to 150 acres of level, cleared land in its bounds—It affords the handsomest situation for a Town on the river, and appears to be in the neighborhood of large, and excellent, bodies of rich lands—This bluff extends for some distance down the river—It is all good land, but thinly timbered—a fine veiw of the river is enjoyed at this place, both above & below—On the opposite side is a large bend of delighful bottom land, and also another large bend on the same side of the bluff some few miles below.

South 1 M. 40 ch. cont^d^. the whole of this distance along the red bluff—passed to the right of an Island—from 1 m 20 ch. to the end of the distance—several springs at the end of the distance—lands on the right a superb bottom—

S°. 10 W^t^. 30 ch—Lands high & rich on both sides

S°. 45 W^t^. 2 M 40 ch. Lands rich & high on both sides, mixed with scattering pines on the right.

S°. 40 W^t^. 1 m 20 ch lands higher on the left and mixed with a few Pines—On the right the same as above represented—Spring to the right at 30 ch

S°. 60 W^t^. 40 ch. Rich lands on both sides

☞West 1 mile—Rich, high, lands on both sides[49]—Spring branch on the left at 40 ch—a branch from the left at 60 ch.

N°. 65 W^t^. 1 m. 20 po. lands more piney, but still good on the

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[48] Foster's Creek.

[49] The present Bridgeport, Wilcox County, is located here.

left, rich & fine on the right—fine spring branch on the left at the end of this course.

Encamped on the left bank at 46 Miles 40 ch.

16th.

Proceeded 20 minutes after 5 o'clock A. M.

N°. 45 Wt. 3 miles—Excellent lands on both sides a small creek from the left at 1 m 60 ch—another creek from the right at the end of this distance

North 1 m—A low rocky bluff[50] of good land to the left—rich lands on the right—passed a:. Island at 40 ch—a spring branch from the left at 20 ch

N°. 10 Et. 2 miles—Bluff, ends on the left and good lands on both sides succeeds—Shoal water at 40 ch—shoal again at 1 m 40 ch to 2 miles—left shore the deepest—Spring on the right near the end.

N°. 20 Wt. 40 ch—Piney, high lands on the right at 40 ch from the river—The margin good—lands on the left rich.

N°. 35 Wt. 40 ch—Pine high lands on the right as on last course—rich on the left—Spring on the right, near end.

N°. 55 Wt. 40 ch—lands continue on the right, the same as before stated.—rich bottom on the left.

N°. 85 Wt. 1 m 20 ch—lands continue the same on the right the pine growth receding from the river—2 springs on the right near the begining—lands goods on the left—good lands on both sides, the last 30 ch.

N°. 85 Wt. Contd. 1 m 40 ch—passed to the left of an Island at 60 ch.—rocky banks on the left opposite the Island—Lands rich on both sides—small creek from the right, near the end

S°. 65 Wt. 40 ch—High, piney land to the right for 30 ch and appears better from thence—good bottom on the left.

S°. 35 Wt. 20 ch—Along a handsome low bluff on the right, rising ground 100 yds back from the river—rich, high bottom on the left

S°. 10 Wt. 1 mile—Bluff continues on the right with breaks of lower land this whole distance—Pine, back from the river—Excellent, rich land on the left.

☞S°. 15 Et. 1 m 40 ch—Bluff contd. & high lands on the right—good high land on the left—a good spring on the left at 20 ch

[50] Canton Bend.

in the river bank—good settlements on the same side, below the spring,—the lands a mixture of Pine & other timber—a good creek from the right at 1 mile.

South 2 Miles—rich bottom on the right—very good lands on the left—bottom commences on the left at 40 ch high & rich for 40 ch further where it descends to lower land—low bottom on the right & rich at 1 m and continues the balance of this distance—a branch on the left at 1 m 40 ch

☞S°. 10 E^t^. 2 m 40 ch—lands higher & rich on the right—Tolerable low bottom on the left—spring on the right, near the begining—lands on the left rise higher on descending and continues rich & good the whole distance

S°. 5 W^t^. 1 mile—rich lands of tolerable height on the left—rich Bottom on the right

S°. 15 W^t^. 60 ch—lands rich on both sides—the right a lower bottom than on the left—a creek from the left.

S°. 35 W^t^. 40 ch—Prime lands on both sides

S°. 60 W^t^. 20 ch—Excellent lands on both sides—rocky shore and high lands at 10 ch—a spring on the left, near the end.

N°. 80 W^t^. 60 ch—High lands on the left of indifferent quality mixed with Pine & a rocky shore—rich bottom on the right—lands on the left, lower & rich for the last 30 chains.

S°. 60 W^t^. 40ch—Rocky shore, for part of this distance, on the right—Good lands on both sides.

S°. 35 W^t^. 60 ch—good lands on both sides—high on the left for half the distance and contains a few pine mixed with other growth—a branch from the right at 40 ch

S°. 55 W^t^. 1 m. 20 ch—High, rich l ands on the left—Bottom lower on the right for half distance below which it is higher; containing a mixture of pine—It is apparently good farming land—a bluff near the lower end on the right.

S°. 15 W^t^. 1 mile—Along a rock, bluff on the right covered principally with pine—lands on the left rich & fine

☞S°. 20 E^t^. 1 mile—Bluff on the right continues 20 ch—good lands succeed for the balance of the distance—Rich bottom continues on the left—passed to the left of an Island from 30 ch nearly the whole distance—A large creek[51] from the right, op-

[51] Turkey Creek. Brewer, in his *Alabama*, p. 579, says that De Soto is believed to have crossed to the western side of the river just below Clinton, situated North of the mouth of this Creek.

posite the uper end of this Island which is high & timbered at its lower end.

S°. 25 E^t^. 1 m 20 ch—good on both sides—a narrow channel to the left of a shoal which extends from the lower end of the Island—lands on the right appear high a small distance from the river and contains some pine mixture—a rocky bluff on the right for the last 20 ch.

S°. 50 E^t^. 1 m 20 ch—Bluff cont^d^. on the right—bottom on the left—lands to the right, lower the last half of this distance—Improv^t^. on the left.

S°. 85 E^t^. 20 ch—Bluff on the right & bottom on the left.

N°. 85 E^t^. 1 m 60 ch—Bluff cont^d^. on the right—passed an Island from 30 to 50 ch—bluff ends at 20 ch & good lands succeeds—Prime land on the left

S°. 80 E^t^. 1 mile—Prime lands on both sides—a fine spring on the right at 60 ch rocky banks on the right.

East 40 ch—good lands on both sides—☞The lands on the left immediately above this, may be said to be one large bend containing 20 or 30,000 acres, the greater part (if not the whole) of which, from every appearance must be said to be a body of prime land, equal to any body, of the same extent, in any part of the United States

S°. 70 E^t^. 1 mile 40 ch—good lands on both sides—but on the right bottom—high on the left—a spring branch on the left at 20 ch—The margin on the left contains rich bottom for 100 to 120 yds back to the high land before named—passed to the right of an Island at about 1 mile—An old Improv^t^. on the right, opposite the Island.

South 1 m. 40 ch—Improv^t^. continues on the right—a bluff of rock on the left, with high lands mixed with pine—Bottom on the right—Passed to the right of an Island[52] which commences at half & continues nearly the balance of this distance—good lands on left, the last half of this course—The bluff still continued.

S°. 35 W^t^. 40 ch—good lands on both sides—Bluff on the right near the end & rocky—lands descend to a good bottom on the left.

☞South 40 ch—A rocky bluff & rich land continued on the

[52] Hobb's Island.

right—Bottom on the left—A prime spring or creek[53] in the bluff on the right, near the end of distance.

S°. 35 E^t. 60 ch. Bluff & good lands continue on the right,—bottom on the left—lands thin on the right the last 40 ch.

☞S°. 70 E^t. 2 Miles—Bluff continues on the right of thin pine lands & other growths, affording a handsome situation but poor—rich lands on the left—A fine spring 300 yds above the end, on the left.

S°. 30 E^t. 40 ch—good lands on both sides—rocky banks cont^d. on the left—A large creek[54] from the left.

S°. 5 W^t. 20 ch lands high on the left below the creek—Rich on the right

S°. 40 W^t. 20 ch. to the uper end of a high bluff[55] of poor pine land on the left—rich bottom on the right—A spring branch on the left at the commencement.

S°. 65 W^t. 20 ch along the s^d. bluff.—Rich bottom on the right—Bluff 80 feet high.

West 1 m. 40 ch—Bluff cont^d. on the left—rich bottom on the right—passed to the right of an Island[56]—2 springs on the left.

N°. 60 W^t. 1 mile—A spring to the left at the commencement—passed to the right of an Island—prime lands on both sides.

N°. 30 W^t. 20 ch—good lands on both sides 3 springs near each other on the right.

N°. 70 W^t. 2 Miles—lands good on both sides

N°. 55 W^t. 1 m. 40 ch.—good lands on both sides—passed to the right of a large Island at 40 ch—A handsome bluff of rich land on the right, opposite the lower end of the Island.—High piney hills on the right for 30 ch near the end—a spring branch from the right at 60 ch

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[53] Probably Dunn's Creek.

[54] Pursley Creek. It was at the sand bar at the mouth of this creek that Lt. Joseph M. Wilcox and a companion were mortally wounded by Indians Feb. 14. 1814. Lt. Wilcox was a native of Conn., a West Pointer of June, 1808, 2d Lt. 3 U. S. Inf., and 1st Lt. Jan. 3, 1812. He died on the 15th, and on the 17th of Feb., 1814, he was interred at Ft. Claiborne, with military honors. Wilcox County is so named in memory of his gallant services and his untimely death. Pickett, pp. 326-8, says his body was found on the river betwen Canton and Prairie Bluff; but Brewer, p. 579, a later authority, says it was at the mouth of Pursley Creek.

[55] Black's Bluff.

[56] Tait's Bar.

N°. 80 W^t^. 20 ch—Pine land cont^d^. on the right good lands on the left.

S°. 85 W^t^. 1 mile—Pine lands ceased at a branch on the right at 20 ch—good lands then on both sides

S°. 35 W^t^. 1 m 40 ch—good lands on both sides—rocky banks to the right—a branch from the right at 30 ch—a spring branch from the left 40 ch above the end of this distance

S°. 75 W^t^. 1 m 60 ch—Lands good on both sides—spring on the left at 40 ch—Creek from the right at 1 m 20 ch—3 springs opposite, in the left bank—High lands mixed with pine, on the right for the last 20 ch—a spring at the uper end of the hill.

S°. 45 W^t^. 20 ch—Along a poor, piney bluff on the right with a spring—good lands on the left.

S°. 15 W^t^. 20 ch—Bluff cont^d^. on the right & good lands on the left.

S°. 10 E^t^. 1 m 40 ch—The bluff ends & High lands cont^d^. on the right of better quality—Bottom on the left, and a spring at 60 ch—Spring on the left at 1 m 20 ch.

S°. 20 W^t^. 1 m 40 ch—A rocky bank on the left—good lands on both sides with a branch from the right at 1 mile.

S°. 5 W^t^. 2 m 40 ch—good lands on both sides—passed to the right of an Island at 40 to 60 ch—A creek[57] from the right, opposite the lower end of the Island—passed to the right of another Island at 1 m 20 ch to 1 m 60 ch

Encamped on the left shore at 58 Miles—

17th

Proceeded at 5 o'clock A. M.

S°. 10 E^t^. 40 ch—lands good on both sides.

S°. 30 E^t^. 40 ch—good lands on left & high pine lands on the right.

S°. 75 E^t^. 20 ch—High on the right & bottom on the left

East—1 m 20 ch—High on the right for a small distance thence descends gradually to rich bottom—good Bottom land on the left.

S°. 70 E^t^. 2 Miles—Lands good on both sides

S°. 50 E^t^. 1 mile to the uper end of a high, handsome Red-Bluff on the right—lands good on both sides—passed to the

[57] Bear Creek.

right of an Island[58] at 20 to 40 ch—a part timbered & rich—lands high on the right opposite the timbered part of the Island and a good spring 20 ch above the bluff.

S°. 85 E^t^. 4 miles, along the above named bluff of thin level land covered with pine and banks 80 feet high—rich bottom on the left—lands on the right good, & bluff ends, at 20 ch & from thence to the end of this course A fine spring on the right at 30 ch—The land on the left is excellent.

S°. 65 E^t^. 40 ch—The land rizes on the left to a bluff with rocky banks & pine growth—On the right a rich bottom A large creek f rom the left at 20 ch—bluff increases below the creek, in height.

S°. 35 E^t^. 30 ch.—A high, broken bluff on the left—red corn [?] land on the top mixed with pine—bottom on the right—a fine bold creek from the left near the commencement of this course

South 40 ch—High pine lands cont^d^. on the left & rich bottom on the right .[59]

S°. 20 W^t^. 2 Miles—Bottom cont^d^. on the right—lands lower to the left & descend to a bottom at about 1 mile—lands rise on the right at 1 m 40 ch and continues high & rich to the end of this distance

S°. 10 W^t^. 2 M 10 ch—passed to the left of an Island at 1 M 40 ch—4 springs to the right, near the beginning—Pine lands on both sides of rich bottom—Spring branch from the left 30 ch above the Island.

S°. 30 W^t^. 20 ch—a rocky bluff on the left & good bottom on the right.

S°. 45 W^t^. 1 m 20 ch—Bluff cont^d^. on the left & bottom on the right—good lands on the bluff—2 springs to the left at 40 ch and a branch to the right nearly opposite.

S°. 60 W^t^. 1 Mile—Rich, high lands on the left & bottom on the right—rocky banks on the left and a branch at 60 ch.

S°. 75 W^t^. 1 mile to the uper end of a large timbered Island—bottom lands on both sides—a branch to the right at 60 ch.

S°. 85 W^t^. 1 m 20 ch—passed to the right of the above named Island—This Island has but little water on the left—the main channel on the right, about 50 yds wide—a bluff on the left

[58] Steans Island.

[59] In the vicinity of Bell's Landing.

opposite the Island—the whole good lands on both sides—The timbered lands on this Island is very good & lies high—a very old, small Improv^{t}. is on the Island.

This Island[60] has become notorious from the circumstance of Col. Benton's discovering 3 or 400 Indians on it in descending the river in May or June last, belonging to the war party that had declined, or refused, to surrender, and suffering them to escape punishment by pretending to be then on their way to Fort Claiborne for the purpose of surrendering—It is supposed to be a part of the same who were afterwards at Pensacola with Francis & McQueen.

S^{o}. 55 W^{t}. 1 mile—lands, fine bottom on the right—Island cont^{d}. on the left—lands to the south of the Island, rich bottom —Island ends at 40 ch—A small creek & bluff on the right 10 ch. above the end—the bluff continues to the end of the course —Pine on its top & a fine spring at the end of the distance

S^{o}. 10 W^{t}. 2 miles—High, Piney lands on the right—Very rich bottom on the left—High lands recede gradually from the river on the right and bottom commences at 20 ch—a branch from the left at 60 ch.

S^{o}. 45 W^{t}. 20 ch—High lands to the left, mixed with Pine—Bottom on the right.

S^{o}. 70 W^{t}. 2 m 40 ch.—High, rich lands on the left—Prime bottom on the right—Spring branch on the left at 20 ch another at 1 m 20 ch—a branch on the right at 60 ch—another Spring on the left at 1 m 40—An Improv^{t}. on the right at 1 m. 60 ch—Another at 2 miles—Spring branch on the right a small distance below the Improv^{t}.—a third Improv^{t}. near the end of the distance

S^{o}. 45 W^{t}. 20 ch—lands good on both sides

S^{o}. 10 W^{t}. 1 m. 60 ch—Excellent lands on both sides, to a handsome bluff on the right—a creek to the right [61]

S^{o}. 45 E^{t}. 2 m 20 ch—Bluff cont^{d}. on the right 20 ch—passed to the left of an Island at from 40 ch to 1 m 10 ch—bottom to the left, also on the right below the bluff—Spring to the left near the end of this distance.

S^{o}. 15 E^{t}. 20 ch good lands (prime) on both sides

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[60] Hane's Island.

[61] Silver Creek.

S°. 10 E. 2 M 40 ch—Prime lands on both sides—very old Improv^t. on the right at 1 mile—Creek from the left at the same distance.—The lands on the right lie high, very rich & scarce of timber; supposed to be the effect of very old Improv^ts. that appear extensive.

S°. 20 E^t. 1 m 20 ch lands good on the right near the river—high & piney off from thence a short distance—Excellent land on the left—a branch from the right at 1 mile—a small branch from the right at the end.

S°. 35 E^t. 20 ch—good lands on both sides—a bottom on the left and spring branch from the right.

S°. 60 E^t. 3 miles—2 springs on the right at 60 ch high lands on the right near the river—bottom on the left with rich high lands near the lower end high lands cease at 1 mile & bottom succeeds—passed the mouth of a large creek called Little Limestone[62] or uper limestone, and is the largest of the two of that name. It is from the left.

S°. 20 E^t. 20 ch—lands good on both sides—rocky banks on the left

South 1 mile—Lands continued good on both sides— passed the mouth of lower Limestone Creek[63] at 20 ch above the end of this distance—Enters from the left.

S°. 10 W^t. 40 ch. Lands high & piney to the left—rich bottom on the right & a spring on each side on this course

S°. 35 W^t. 20 ch. A high poor bluff on the left & rich bottom to the right a spring on the left.

S°. 60 W^t. 20 ch To Fort Claibourne[64] situated on a high

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[62] Now called Flat Creek.

[63] Now called Limestone.

[64] Now Claiborne. The remains of the fort are still visible. It was built by General F. L. Claiborne in November, 1813, as a base of supplies on his invasion of the Creek country from the southwest. The best description of the fort is that here given by Tatum. The white bluff and long steps of Claiborne are prominent objects on the Alabama River.

Nothing can be found in the existing War Department records as to the founding, occupancy or abandonment of Fort Claiborne. Gardner's *Dictionary of the Army of the U. S.*, p. 578, says that it was named after Brig. Gen. Claiborne, as is generally stated. That publication also gives Fort Montgomery, opposite the Cut Off, at three miles distance, as named for Bvt. Maj. E. Montgomery, 7th Infantry. There is no plan of either on record, but the location of Fort Claiborne, as well as of other posts, is given on the early printed *Map of Alabama*, constructed from surveys of the General Land Office, &c., by John Mellish, 1818-1819.

After the Creek treaty of Aug. 9, 1814, Gov. David Holmes, of the

pine bluff of 150 feet perpendicular, on the left side the river—A rich bottom to the right and a spring under the Fort in the river bank to the left.

West 30 ch—Bluff continues, lower but still poor & piney—rich bottom on the right.

N°. 55 W^t. 60 ch—Bluff decreasing & piney—rich bottom on the right & largely Improved.—landed on the left at John Weatherfords ferry, at the end of the bluff at 45 minutes after 3 O'Clock P. M. & encamped at 41 m. 20 ch.

Note—The road[65] of communication between Fort St. Stephens & Milledgeville in Georgia crosses the Alabama at this ferry, the property of a friendly Creek Indian, brother to the noted chief who was a principal leader in the distruction of Fort Mimms.

The bluff on which the Fort is situated is called the Alabama heights. It overlooks an extensive, valuable bottom on the right bank, which is said to be backed with a bluff of high Pine lands from the foot of which run many fine springs that will prove of great utility in the future settlement of this part of the country—above this place lies large & extensive bodies of prime bottom, and, as is said, high lands—the situation & water good & healthy of course will become a valuable acquisition to the United States. It is by lands from 20 to 30 miles above Fort Mimms & 50 miles above Fort Stoddard and 90 to 100 Miles above Mobile.

Fort Claibourne is a strong built Stockade Fort nearly a square on the centre of three squares are built Blockhouses which have the effect of Salient Angles, the outer ends of which

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Mississippi Territory, by proclamation dated June 29, 1815, created Monroe County to embrace all the ceded lands. On Dec. 9, 1815, the Territorial Assembly designated Fort Claiborne as the place for holding the Courts of the County. It remained the seat of Justice until 1832. In its early days it was "a place of fame," and many of the leading public men had residences there. It was very unhealthy, however, and this was one cause of its downfall. Railroad competition destroyed its commercial importance. *See* Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 320; Brewer's Alabama, pp. 434-5; and Ball's *Clarke County*, p. 458.

[65] The route crossing here from St. Stephens merged to the east in the Federal Road. It is noteworthy that Sam Dale in carrying the news of the victory at New Orleans did not cross at Mims Ferry and pursue the Federal Road but took a more northerly route and crossed the Alabama at Randon's, mentioned by Tatum lower down. This may have been due to high water at Nannahubba Island. *See* Claiborne's *Dale*, p. 160. The brother referred to is John Weatherford, of the preceeding paragraph.

are shaped so as to have the effect of the face of Bastions in defence—there is also one of them in the line of an irregular off set in the work, made to avoid including part of a ravine

18th

Proceeded at 40 minutes after 10 O'Clock A. M.

N°. 60 Wt. 30 ch--Weatherfords Improvts. on the left, commences at the ferry, & contains a part of an excellent piece of bottom land—The improved lands, opposite, are also claimed by him—A swamp on the back part of the Improvt. on the right

N°. 85 Wt. 60 ch—A bluff commences on the right at 40 ch—Improvt. on the same side ends at 30 ch. below which & above the bluff two creeks enter from the right at 40 & 45 ch—On the bluff is a small Improvt. occupied by a Mr. Jones[66] near which is a fine spring—This is an elegant situation—The road to St. Stephens runs near this Improvt.—a fine bottom on the left.

N°. 60 Wt. 40 ch—The bluff continues on the right & bottom on the left—The bluff contains handsome farming land but not very rich—growth, Pine, oak & Hickory.

S°. 45 Wt. 2 m 40 ch--Bottom on the left—Bluff ends at a short distance, and Pine hickory & oak high lands continue—At a short distance below the commencement, the lands on the left rise to a high rich upland intermixed with a few pine—at 60 ch the lands on the right descend to rich high land containing a few scattering pine

S°. 40 Wt. 40 ch—Good lands on both sides—bottom on the right & high lands on the left—a spring branch to the left, near the end.

S°. 60 Wt. 1 mile—High, Oak, hickory & pine lands on the left—Oak & Hickory bottom on the right—a spring at the left near the beginning—A creek from the right at 25 ch—lands below the creek on the left lower & without Pine and descends to rich bottom lower down.

S°. 20 Wt. 30 ch lands on both sides as represented in the last course above—a spring branch from the right.

S°. 60 Et. 1 m 40 ch—lands on the right rise to a bluff at 20 ch

[66] Probably Josiah Jones, a militia captain, who emigrated to Clarke County about 1809 and died there in 1843.—See Ball's *Clarke County*, p. 538.

of tolerable good quality—Bottom continues on the left—passed to the left of a small Island—A large creek from the right near the lower end of this course

S°. 70 E^t^. 3 miles—High lands on the right & bottom on the left—Bottom on both sides from 40 ch—a creek to the left at 2 miles—another creek from the left at the end, and an Improv^t^. on both sides

S°. 50 E^t^. 40 ch—a bluff of good lands on the left—bottom on the right—a fine spring branch from the left at 20 ch

South 1 mile—High bluff on the left & a prime bottom on the right cont^g^. 3 Improv^ts^.

S°. 10 W^t^. 2 m. 40 ch—High, poor bluff cont^d^. on the left—rich bottom & Improv^t^. on the right—Bluff on the left ends at 40 ch and is succeeded by rich bottom, an Improv^t^. on each side of Peter Randon's, a friendly half-breed—these Improv^ts^. are large and fine, that on the right the largest & contains about 100 acres—They are at the distance of about 1 mile from the comm^t^. of this course.

S°. 40 W^t^. 2 m 40 ch—Lands rich and excellent on both sides—a large creek from the left at 20 ch—a spring branch from the same side at 2 miles.

S°. 30 W^t^. 50 ch—Prime, rich bottom lands on both sides—that on the left very low & probably swampy—a creek or Bayou from the left[67]

S°. 60 W^t^. 1 m 20 ch—Improv^t^. on the right—lands on both sides as represented in last course—The Improv^t^. on a superb piece of land—a small creek from the left at 50: An Elegant tract of land below the creek containing a small improv^t^. at a good boat landing—The Improv^t^. on the right is said to have belonged to Dixon Baily[68] a friendly half Breed chief who fell fighting bravely in defence of Fort Mimms—It is large & continues part of the next course

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[67] Randon's Creek. Just above the mouth of this creek occured the celebrated "Canoe Fight" which Tatum does not mention, although he stopped at Claiborne just above, rested for the night just below, and passed over its scene in broad daylight. Here Sam Dale, Jerry Austill and James Smith on November 12, 1813, in a hand to hand battle in boats overcame and killed seven Indian warriors. For Bibliography of the engagement see Note 4, Halbert's *Creek War Incidents, supra.*

[68] For account of Dixon Baily and connections, *see* Halbert and Ball's *Creek War*, pp. 164-5. The location here referred to is indicated on old maps as Peggy Baily's Bluff.

S°. 85 W^t^. 1 mile—Prime lands continue on both sides—Creek from the left at 40 ch

S°. 60 W^t^. 1 m 40 ch—Prime lands continue on both sides—An old Improv^t^. on the right at 25 ch—passed to the right of an Island—Creek from the left at 40 ch—Creek from the right near the end[69]

S°. 70 W^t^. 2 M 40 ch—A narrow bottom on the right bounded by a high bluff of poor pine lands—Good bottom & an Improv^t^. on the left, near the beginning—A creek from the right & the bottom widens.

S°. 40 W^t^. 60 ch—an old Improv^t^. on the left—Encamped at a large plantation on the right at 23 M 60 ch

19th

S°. 40 W^t^. cont^d^.—1 m 20 ch—Plantation on the right—continued, on a valuable rich tract of bottom land—Rich bottom also on the left—plantation ends at 30 ch.

S°. 75 W^t^. 60 ch—Rich lands on both sides—Improv^t^. on the left at the commencement—A small Improv^t^. on the right opposite the lower end of the former

S°. 35 W^t^ 40 ch—Bottom on both sides with pine lands on the right at 20ch from the river—Improv^t^. on the left at 20 ch belonging to Sizemore a white man married to a sister of D. Baileys[70]—The bottom on the right widens in descending the river, on the next course—another Improv^t^. on the left belonging to the same Sizemore—He has another, which is his principal one on the right.[71]

S°. 20 W^t^. 1 m 40 ch Improv^t^. on the left cont^d^.—Rich bottom on both sides—a small branch from the right.

S°. 40 W^t^. 1 mile—An Improv^t^. on the right at the comm^t^.—Rich on both sides

South 20 ch—Rich lands on both sides

S°. 10 E^t^. 2 m 20 ch—Rich lands on both sides—A valuable

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[69] In this vicinity, some five miles above Gainestown, is French's Landing, by many believed to be the site of the ancient Maubila. Rev. T. H. Ball maintains this view in a paper published in Halbert and Ball's *Creek War*, pp. 320-331. *See* Note 72, *infra*.

[70] Polly Baily, who bore him six children.

[71] The present Gainestown; for sketch of, *see* Ball's *Clarke County*, pp. 479-80.

plantation on the right at 1 m & 40 ch belonging to a Mrs. Dyer a half breed Indian of the friendly party.

So. 30 Wt. 40 ch. Rich lands & another Improvt. or plantation on the right—Valuable lands on both sides & a handsome low bluff on the left.

So. 55 Wt. 1 m a plantation on the left at 20 to 30 ch—passed to the right of an Island opposite—lands rich on both sides a large creek from the left 10 ch below beginning, passed close to the left shore—a bad shoal at the upper end & in the right hand passage—Improvt. on the right

No. 65 Wt. 60 ch—Rich bottom on both sides

No. 25 Wt. 40 ch to a beautiful bluff of rich valuable land & Improvt. on the left—rich lands on both sides, bottom lowest on the right.

No. 5 Wt. 60 ch Rich bottom on both sides—Improvt. contd. on the left

No. 45 Wt. 40 ch—A Valuable Improvt. on the right from 20 to 30 ch below—A sand beach on the left—keep close in, with the right shore.

So. 65 Wt. 40 ch—To the Choctaw-Bluff[72] on the right—This is a handsome bluff of flat pine land & contains a small Improvt.—Rich low bottom on the left—a branch on the right at 20 ch—Improvt. above the branch.

So. 5 Wt. 1 mile—A large Improvt. on the left—a spring in the bluff—a small Improvt. on the left at 60 ch

So. 55 Wt. 2 miles—An old Improvt. on the left at the beginning—another on the right at 20 ch—Improvements & good high bottom land commences at 1 m 40 ch, on a handsome low bluff affording a good situation for a settlement—an Improvt. on the left & old 60 ch above the end—A large creek[73] from the right at 1 mile—Bottom on the left

South 1 m 20 ch—An old Improvt. on the left Improvt. on the right from 60 ch to the end of this distance

So. 45 Et. 1 mile—Along a handsome bluff of rich land on

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[72] Choctaw Bluff is generally accepted as the site of Maubila and therefore the scene of the fierce battle between DeSoto's troops and Tuscaloosa's natives in 1540. During the American Civil war the Confederates had a battery there, and a cannon still remains. Clarke County had been established December 10, 1812, by cutting off so much of Washington as lay east of the Tombigbee, but it did not then reach the Alabama.

[73] Sandhill Creek.

the right—This bluff may be said to contain high bottom land. It contains an old Improv^{t}. near the upper end which continues the same appearances to the end of the distance—bottom on the left.

East 1 m 40 ch—Improv.^{t} on the right at the commencement, on a handsome bluff cont^{d}.—another 40 ch below on the same side & bluff—low bottom on the left—passed the mouth of a small lake at 1 m 20 ch from the left.

South 20 ch—Bottom on both sides—passed the mouth of Little river[74] from the left

S^{o}. 70 W^{t}. 1 m—Improv^{ts}. of Samuel Manack[75] a friendly half breed, on both sides at the commencement & good lands on both sides.

S^{o}. 85 W^{t}. 60 ch—Rich bottom on both sides, an old Improv^{t}. on the left at the lower end of this course

N°. 45 W^{t}. 1 m 20 ch—Rich bottom on both sides

N°. 35 W^{t}. 40 ch—Bottom low & rich on both sides

West 20 ch—a sharp low point on the left—High bottom on the right

S^{o}. 25 W^{t}. 40 ch—low point cont^{d}. on the left—lands higher on the right making a low handsome bluff & open lands of good quality on the summit.

S^{o}. 45 E^{t}. 2 M 60 ch—A handsome Improv^{t}. on the right at 30 ch—lands higher on the left, but still low & swampy Improv^{t}. on the right at 2 miles—A plantation on the left commencing at the end of this distance, and large. This is David Taits[76] plantation, a *pretended* friendly half breed chief. Nephew to Alex^{r}.

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[74] Little River is now the north boundary of the "State of Baldwin." and the residence of descendants of William Weatherford. At this time Baldwin extended from the Choctaw Trading Road to the Creek boundary line south of the Alabama; but the part east of Mobile River, to which the name is now confined, was then nominal except about Fort Mims. South of 31° on both sides the rivers was Mobile County.

[75] Manac gave the Americans early intimation of the trouble brewing among the Creeks in 1813. See his affidavit Monette *Valley of Mississippi*, vol. ii, p. 394, *note*; also in *Alabama Historical Reporter*, June, 1880; and also in Halbert and Ball's Creek War, pp. 91-93. This affidavit among other old papers and documents, was presented by the Mississippi historian, Col. J. F. H. Claiborne to the Alabama Historical Society. These papers are carefully preserved in the archives. He was the son of Wm. Moniac (sic), a Hollander, and Polly Colbert, a Tuskegee woman. Samuel Moniac married Elizabeth, sister of Wm. Weatherford.

[76] For a very different estimate of David Tate *see* Maj. J. D. Dreisback's "Weatherford" in *Alabama Historical Reporter*, Feb., 1884.

McGilvry & half brother to Wm. & John Weatherfords before named—John is a staunch friend—William commanded at the fall of Fort Mimms, with the war party and Tait suspected of pretending friendship to cover the large property of himself & William—He was never known to use any influence or activity in suppressing the outrages committed by his brother William & the nation. John, on the contrary, was always actively engaged with the whites in every instance—at the heights

South 40 ch Taits plantation on the left contd.—bottom on both sides.

So. 50 Wt. 1 mile An Improvt. on the left at 20 ch—bottom on both sides

No. 80 Wt. 1 m 60 ch—Excellent lands on both sides, open & cainey on the left—thick woods & low on the right

So. 45 Wt. 40 ch—a handsome rich bluff of level bottom on the right—low, and supposed, swampy on the left—The margin on the right, open & cainey

So. 10 Wt. 1 mile—Open rich lands on the right resembling old Improvts. & low bluff contd.—On the left low swamp lands—A creek from the left near the end of this course

So. 85 Wt. 1 m 40 ch The lands rich, and lie well, on the left—Low & Swampy on the right—a lake Cr from the right at 1 m 20 ch.

South 30 ch.—Bluff & high bottom on the right—Swamp on the left

So. 45 Et. 50 ch—Bluff on the right & swamp on the left continued—

So. 15 Wt. 40 ch—A bluff on the left having the appearance of an old improvement—Low lands on the right, at the point, then rises to a bluff of good lands at 20 ch

So. 30 Et. 2 miles—Low & Swampy on the left—a low bluff & good lands on the right—Good lands on the left commence at 1 m 40 ch and low bottom commences on the right at the same distance—A large plantation on the left at the end of this course, and a small, old Improvt. on the right, opposite.

So. 85 Wt. 20 ch—plantation contd. on the left & low bottom on the right

So. 85 Wt. 20 ch—plantation contd. on the left & low bottom on the right—The river which has been from 250 to 300 yds wide from Fort Claibourne—here narrows to about 120 yds

N°. 45 W^t^. 1 m 40 ch low bottom on the right—Higher & rich on the left

West 40 ch—Bottom high on the right & low on the left.

S°. 45 W^t^. 40 ch—Lands the same as in the last course

S°. 10 W^t^. 40 ch—Lands low & flat on both sides

S°. 30 E^t^. 60 ch. An old Improv^t^. & high bottom on the right —low on the left.

S°. 60 E^t^. 1 mile—A plantation on the right belonging to M^rs^. Dunn a half breed woman, commences at the beginning of this course and runs down nearly the whole distance—low bottom on both sides nearly the whole of this course & distance

South 40 ch—Bottom higher on the left lower on the right

S°. 50 W^t^. 20 ch—Lands cont^d^. as on last course. An old Improv^t^. on the left

N°. 80 W^t^. 40 ch—Lands cont^d^. the same on both sides, another old Improv^t^. on the left

N°. 35 W^t^. 40 ch—Old Improv^t^. cont^d^. on the left—low bottom on the right—This old Improv^t^. has the appearance of a cain prairie

S°. 60 W^t^. 40 ch—Lands low on both sides

S°. 10 W^t^. 60 ch—Bottom highest on the right—swamp on the left.

S°. 15 E^t^. 30 ch—lands same as above

S°. 45 W^t^. 70 ch—A bluff & bottom lands on the left—A large old field on the left—low on the right—This course ends at the Cut-Off. 46 m 20 ch below the junction[77]

At this place the Indian boundary line[78] on the west crosses the Alabama river from the southward or eastward & enters the cut-off and continues down the same to a point which formerly answered as a corner to the Choctaw & Creek Tribes & now answers the same purpose as between the United States

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[77] Tatum's measurements are only approximate, as he says. The actual distance from junction to junction is about 300 miles.

[78] The allusion is to the boundary before the treaty of Fort Jackson in 1814, for that ran the southwest boundary of the Creeks from near Wetumpka to the Chattahoochee below Eufaula. The cession by the Choctaws referred to is that at Mount Dexter, November 16, 1805, whereby the land east of the Tombigbee, up to the ridge dividing from the Creeks was ceded to the U. S., except the reservation for Alzira and Sophia the two daughters of Samuel Mitchell, United States agent to the Chickasaws, by Molly, a Choctaw, and excepting the McGrew claim, and the town of Fuketchupoonta.—7 United States *Statutes at large*, p. 98. Previous treaties had ratified the earlier cessions to England west of the Tombigbee, and this also ceded a strip along the road McClary had cut from Natchez when he marched to occupy St. Stephens.

& Creeks, from whence it runs northwardly, bending on the lines of lands ceeded by the Choctaws, to the United States

The cut-off, is a fork which breaks through the western bank of the Alabama and runs from thence by various courses, into the Tombigby river at the landing of Carson's ferry at the crossing of the road leading from Fort Stoddard to Georgia, commonly called the *Federal Road*[79]—This road crosses the Alabama about 3 miles below where the cut-off breaks out at Mimm's Ferry—Fort Mimms stood about 1 m. 20 ch, nearly East, from this ferry, on the road—and about 3 miles, nearly south from the cut-off.

It being between sunset & dark when the boats arrived at the cut-off, and the commanding general determining to descend by night—I became impracticable to continue the survey—It therefore ceased at this place, and the more readily, as the cut-off, Alabama & Mobile rivers, as well as the Tombigby below this, had been heretofore surveyed & proper representations (as was understood) forwarded to the department of War, by Maj^r. General Gaines while stationed at Fort Stoddard.

From the rapid manner of descending the Alabama, no other mode could be devised for the measurement of the different courses than conjecture—The distances are therefore most likely to be over rated, as objects on a narrow water appears to be more distant than they really are—I believe it is the case in this instance, as upon examination, I find the difference of Latitude to be 127 ch 40 Links, whereas from the best estimate I have been able to make (having no mode of taking observations for want of the necessary instruments) the difference ought to be about 100 miles—The line of departure when correctly ascertained upon true distances, actually measured, or the foregoing corrected by a land base actually & accurately measured, will probably be about S°. 45° West, instead of S°. 37 as it now

[79]The Federal Road was cut by the United States under the Creek treaty of 1803.—7 United States *Statutes at Large*, p. 96. It will be found more fully treated in a separate article in this volume. It crossed at the Cut-Off because the country above is marshy for miles, while from Fort Mims in time of freshets the ferriage was merely made longer. Below the junction of the two rivers a wilderness of bayous begins, so that Mim's Ferry, Nannahubba Island, and Hollinger's Ferry made up an important part of the highway. The route from St. Stephens crossed the Alabama at Claiborne and joined the Federal Road higher up, as mentioned by Tatum.

appears—The departure as represented on the map of this survey appears to be 96 M 23 ch 32 links—the base, or line of departure being in length 160 miles—This base will be much shortened whenever the true distances are ascertained—the line of departure will also be found to be further west—but the distance, it is believed, will be nearly the same, the long distances being those most subject to error, and those are mostly found on the southwardly & eastwardly courses. The only benefit therefore, to be derived from this map is that, It shows nearly the true course & various meanders of this celebrated river—The accompanying notes show the quality of lands bordering thereon & its various tributary streams—Indian Towns & Improvements &c., from which it will be seen that there are vast quantities of most excellent bottom & high lands bordering on this river throughout the whole of its distance—To what distance back those valuable lands extend, I could not undertake to risque a conjecture—I have no doubt, however, in many places, on both sides, there are extensive bodies of prime lands capable of affording valuable settlements—The rich lands on the river sides are far superior to any I ever saw.

The Cau-hau-ba river, emptying in on the north is represented by Genl. Johnson—Captain John Gordon, and many other officers who served on the Creek Campaign & were detached to scour that country, as being one of the most beautiful species of small rivers they had ever seen—that it was, at the places they saw it, about 40 to 50 yards wide and appeared capable of being navigated at some seasons—That it is fed & supported by numerous valuable Springs & Creeks—That these creeks abound in good seats for waterworks of almost every description and that the streams are constant & flush—The lands they describe as very desirable, in fact, with those Gentlemen it is the Acadia of America.

Col^{o}. Gilbert C. Russel[50] of the 3^{d}. reg. Infantry, and the officers with him on an excursion up the west side of this river from the Alabama heights, in the course of last winter, give nearly the same account of the western side as the before named Gentlemen have done of the eastern, which was that, they more par-

[50] Prominent in the Creek War; later a business man of high standing in Mobile: Russell County named in his honor. For sketch *see* Brewer's *Alabama*, pp. 394-5.

ticularly explored—This river waters a country of from 120 to 150 miles in length from North to South including these beautiful, rich, lands in a Valley lying between the ridges which divides its waters from the Coosa river on the on side, and the Tombigby & Black Warrior on the other. The waters limestone of course pure & healthy.

The lands of farming quality in this country & on the Alabama are capable of producing, in great abundance, every article necessary to the sustenance of man or beast, common to those Latitudes, say from 31 to 34° North of the Equator—It is a country well calculated to the growth of cotton, Hemp & flax, and in the most suitable part of the climate, would produce good crops of Tobacco—Heretofore the culture has been merely Corn, Beans, peas & the various kind of Vines common to a savage mode of living, all of which flourish well in this interesting country. There are large tracts of Pine Barren lands within the bounds ceded—these afford excellent range for Black Cattle—The rich bottoms, would, no doubt, produce good Timothy & other Hay & feeding grasses of the finer qualities—The pine, excepting for Timber, in most places in the uper part of this river would be of little use. Those lower down, might be rendered very productive in Tar, Pitch & Turpentine if properly attended to.

The Alabama river can be navigated with large Keel-Boats[81] with tolerable ease & expidition, from the time the fall rains set in until about the months of May or June after which they become low and are much incommoded, both in ascending & descending, by a variety of shoals some of which are noted above, particularly those of the worst appearance. In short, taking the whole of the country ceeded, from the line running westwardly from the Ten Islands to the Choctaw boundary & that of the Chicasaws—& from the same point down the Coosa to the Bigfalls—thence with the lines of cession to its departure from Ofucskee—& from thence a direct line to Mimms's Ferry, that all that lies west & north of the last mentioned lines & south of those first noted, is a country containing as many advatages to the

[81] Steamboats were not within Tatum's scope. There was one on the Mobile waters at least by 1818, and by 1820 the Cotton Plant and Harriet plied the two rivers.

industrious farmer as any country known of in the western parts of the United States, being as far from the Atlantic ports, and will, no doubt, from the temperature of the climate & its healthy situation, abounding with the means of acquiring every substantial good, become one of the most desirable situations known of, in the south west part of the United States—All which is respectfully submitted by

New Orleans — H°. Tatum maj^r. &
20th Feb^r. 1815 — Top^l. Engineer

From the cut-off—proceeded passing Peter Randons plantation, on the cut-off Island at 2 m & 40 ch & Mimms' Ferry at 3 miles—The plantation, which is large & valuable still continued on the right—The ferry House above stood on the left bank at the mouth of a small Lagoon—continued 3 miles further to the mouth of a small lake on the left emptying into the river—This Lake commences near a place called Pierces boatyard[82] in sight of Fort Mimms—its length to the river about 3 miles & course nearly S°. 70° W^t. to its junction with the Alabama—it is navigable sloops & schooners of small size, as far up as the Boat-Yard—continued 1 m 40 ch farther & encamped on the right bank at 45 minutes after 8 O'Clock P. M. at the distance of 53 m & 40 ch. below the encampment of the preceding night. and 7 m. 20 ch below the cut-off—

[82] The Tensaw district had been early settled. Lorenzo Dow made at least two visits to it in 1803 and 1804-5 and preached there and on the Bigbee over the Cut-Off. A ferry, a school and a gin were located on the Alabama and the lake or Boatyard of which Tatum speaks. Sam Mims, who also owned land in Mobile, operated the former, and two brothers, Pierce, from New England, the latter industries. A considerable population grew up.

Being east of the rivers, it was much exposed to Indian attack in case of hostilities. When the Creeks became warlike in 1813, a pallisade was built around Mims' house and many people took refuge in it. The commander became careless, however, and, when Weatherford's attack did come at noon on August 30th, the gate was open and dancing going on within. What followed was a massacre rather than an engagement. Major Beasley was killed at the gate, and the bravery of the half-breed Dixon Bailey unavailing. The numbers there are not accurately known, but probably hardly two dozen escaped out of about 550 people. Weatherford afterwards claimed that he was unable to restrain his followers.

The site is now hardly recognizable, but it was this massacre which stirred the Americans as nothing else could have done, and brought Jackson on his victorious career. One would expect him to stop and visit the site, but Tatum does not mention it.

20

Proceeded at 25 minutes after 5 O'Clock A. M. about 14 miles to Fort Stoddard on the right bank of the Mobile river and about 4 m. below the junction of the Tombigbee & Alabama rivers—From the junction of these two rivers the Mobile is formed & continued under that name to the entrance into Mobile Bay 3 miles below the Town of Mobile—Its width at the junction of the above named rivers is about 440 to 500 yards and continues that width at least to the distance of 2 miles & 40 ch below Fort Stoddard[83]—On the arrival of the boats at Fort Stoddard the commanding General landed & proceeded to Mount Vernon about 2 miles from thence, where some part of the 39th Infantry remained under the charge of Majr. Blue—The balance of the Regiment having, shortly previous to the General's arrival, marched to, and occupied (what was believed a more healthy situation) Holms's Hill about 2 miles from Fort Mimms', at

[83] Fort Stoddard (more properly Stoddert, from a Secretary of the Navy) was situated on what in Spanish times was known as Ward's Bluff, and was built in July, 1799, by United States troops, under Captain Shaumburgh. Those under Lieutenant John McClary, of the second infantry, had marched across from Natchez and received the post of St. Stephens from the Spanish when Ellicott and Minor, as joint commissioners, had found that post to be north of the boundary line of 31°, declared by the treaty of 1795. For the following twelve years this post was the headquarters of all Federal business in Alabama. It was made a port of entry, the seat of a court of admiralty, and of the revenue district of Mobile. In 1804, Captain Schaumburgh was relieved in the command of the post by Captain Peter P. Schuyler, 2d Infantry. At this time the garrison consisted of eighty men. In 1807, Schuyler was succeeded by Captain Edmund P. Gaines, of the same regiment. There was much ill feeling between the settlers in and about Fort Stoddert, and those at the Spanish post at Mobile, and many plans to capture the latter point were frustrated by the troops.

In November, 1811, to prevent an anticipated attack on Mobile, Colonel Thomas H. Cushing, of the 2d Infantry, with a considerable body of troops from his regiment, was sent to Mobile for the protection of the city. Here he remained until some time in December, when, the designs of the "patriots" having been abandoned, he marched to Fort Stoddert, and laid out a cantonment three miles west of the river, at a point known as Mount Vernon Springs. From this time Fort Stoddert seems to have been practically abandoned. In 1813, during the Creek War, General Claiborne, with a force of 700 men, arrived at the point on July 13th, and went into camp at Mount Vernon, which, during the entire campaign, was the general rendezvous for the troops operating in that section. In January, 1815, after the battle of New Orleans, Fort Stoddert was occupied for a time by a battery of artillery to afford the settlers protection against the Indians. As Mobile had come into the possession of the United States, the relative importance of Fort Stoddert declined and it was soon altogether discontinued.

which place Lt. Col Benton, under whose command they were, had commenced a Stockade Fort[84] to secure his men from the danger of any attempt of Francis or McQueen to annoy them, and also as a mean of giving greater security to the settlers on the East side of the Mobile & Alabama rivers—An annoyance at that time much apprehended as these chiefs & their followers had been received & cherished by the Governor of Pensacola, where, also, they had been joined by a *pretended* captain Woodbine,[85] a British agent sent into that Quarter for the purpose of distributing arms, amunition & clothing to those renegadoes, and who had, likewise, been received & cherished in that undertaking by the before named Governor under the pretence of security to himself & Governor, but as appeared shortly after for the express purpose of annoying the Frontier & Inhabitants of the United States Territories———At this place Fort Stoddard the General & Troops remained until the

21st

at 6 O'Clock A. M. when the commanding General having arranged the business of his department to his own satisfaction the boats & troops—commenced their descent for Mobile Town and encamped[86] that night (owing to a heavy gale) about 4 miles above said Town and on the morning of the 22d reached the post of destination at about 9 O'Clock A. M. where he met Majr. Lawrence[87] on the point of starting with various craft laden with cannon & military Stores for the purpose of re-occupying Mobile point & Fort Bowyer agreeable to orders previously forwarded by the Commanding General for that purpose—At this place the Commanding General established his head quarters for a time & Majr. Lawrence commenced his descent the same day for the re-occupation of the post assigned him.—In which attempt, under the influence of contrary & heavy winds, he was necessitated to encounter numerous dangers & difficulties before he could reach the point & put himself in a situation for defence in

[84] This was Col. Thomas Hart Benton; later to be the distinguished Senator from Missouri. For account of erection of Fort Montgomery, *see* Pickett's *Alabama*, Vol. ii, pp. 361-2.

[85] *See* Pickett's *Alabama*, vol. ii, p. 360.

[86] The last encampment of Jackson must have been about the White House, near Chickasabogue, now the seat of saw mills.

[87] William Lawrence, of Maryland, who was in the U. S. Army, 1801 to 1831; brevetted Lt. Col. for defense of Fort Bowyer; and later Col.

case of an attack from the Enemy, which was then much apprehended, as it had been ascertained that, within a few days after his descent from the Town of Mobile, a small Squadron of British vessels had arrived at, & had been admitted to enter the port of Pensacola, distant about 20 Leagues from thence.

On the arrival of the Commanding General at Mobile he received almost daily information of apprehended danger of the Indians[88] (now, commanded by Woodbine) injuring & destroying the property of the settlers in the neighborhood of Mobile, whose large stocks of cattle yet continued on the East side of the Bay, and exposed to the marauding parties, which would, no doubt, be sent out by Woodbine,—to meet which apprehensions (too justly founded) the commanding General encouraged and procured, the aid of parties of the Choctaw Indians, which joined to parties of his small regular force was frequently dispatched to that side of the Bay for the purpose of warding off this evil, in which they were often successful in defeating the projects of the enemy & lessening his force by killing several of his party sent for the purposes apprehended—parties also from the neighborhood of Fort Montgomery, now Erecting at Holms's Hill, of Volunteers encouraged to turn out, by the commanding General were equally successful—In this situation they remained until the night of September the 3d. when a considerable firing of musquetry was heard on the East side of the Bay in the direction of the Houses & mills of a Mr. D'Olive of the Town of Mobile & shortly after actual, & correct, information arrived that, the attack had been made upon that house, at which place D'Olive had left an Overseer & three slaves, one of which had escaped & was one of those who gave the correct information—a party was detached in pursuit, but failed in their success in overtaking the enemy who, after taking the Overseer & two negroes retreated with their booty to Pensacola & were received no doubt, with much pleasure by the super-annuated Governor & his friend Woodbine—About this time a Brig, prize to a British Brig the Sophia, said to have been recaptured from the Pirates of Barrataria, foundered on Dauphin Island & afforded Majr. Lawrence & party an opportunity of taking pris-

[88] Tatum's narrative reflects the feeling of the time and shows why Jackson determined to attack Pensacola. This he did shortly after the battle at Fort Bowyer, capturing it in November.

oners, one British prize Master & six British sailors, with the addition of three Spanish Sailors belonging to the re-captured Brig—these the Commanding Genl. immediately determined to keep in close confinement to guarrantee the redelivery of the Overseer & Negroes taken at D'Olives place and notified the Governor accordingly, with the assurance that these men would be made to answer "*Eye for Eye, Tooth for Tooth & Scalp for Scalp*" for any injury done to these three persons—This he the more readily did, having about the same time by a flag, or rather a Vessel sent with L^{t}. Gilmar, a Spanish officer, for that purpose sent [received?] a letter from the Governor, dated on the first September 1814, (three days previous to this mischief being done) acknowledging that he himself had embodied & armed those very Indians under the specious pretence of defending himself against the encroachments of the United States forces, which he must have known was not necessary, unless, by his own conduct he should, at any time, implicate his Government, and which much of his conduct appeared to prove to be his intention, on further perusal of the same letter—The officer, nevertheless was treated with all the politeness and attention, due to the *nation* whose officer he was, and for which he on his departure, made grateful acknowledgments.

About this time, and shortly after the departure of Lieut. Gilmar, the General made an attempt to visit Mobile point, or Fort Bowyer, and on the night of the 13th at 10 O'Clock Embarked and proceeded, for that purpose, down the Bay accompanied by Col. Rich Sparks, his aid, Capt. Thos. L. Butler & myself with a small Guard—At about one O'Clock he met an express sent by Maj. Lawrence under the charge of L^{t}. Roy of the 2^{d}. Infantry advising the Genl. of the appearance of 4 British armed Vessels—2 ships & 2 Brigs lying off the Bars & sounding the channel to ascertain its entrance—The Genl. immediately ordered a return to Mobile, but owing to head winds the vessel could not effect this desirable end having only made the mouth of Dog river by 2 O'Clock P. M. on the 14th.—at this place the comm^{dg} General obtained a Pirogue^{89} and leaving Col. Sparks

[89] This is possibly Jackson's only adventure on salt water. When he abandoned the schooner, and in an open pirogue, was paddled against a head wind from Dog River to Mobile, it must have been a memorable experience. A pirogue on Mobile Bay was a different thing from a pirogue on the Tennessee or Coosa.

& myself on board the Vessel with part of the Guard, he with Capt. Butler & the balance of Guard proceded to Mobile in the Pirogue—On his arrival a company of the 3d Infantry under the command of Capt. Laval was order to reinforce Fort Bowyer, for which purpose they had to descend in one of the boats which had descended the Alabama, until he reached the Schooner, on board of which Lt. Roy was & which had not been able to arrive—this he effected on the morning of the 15th and proceeded for the point with the dispatch in his power, but owing to the shifting of the wind was prevented from reaching the desired point of debarkation previous to the attack made by the before named Vessels on it—These Vessels,[90] with the aid of a good Pilot and a fair wind had run up under the Fort, anchored, & commenced a heavy cannonading on the Fort at about 3 O'Clock P. M. which was returned with equal spirit & activity by the Gallant Lawrence & his associates, he far from being in readiness to receive them as they wished—at the same time Woodbine with his Indians lay on the point below, with a body of the marines belonging to Majr. Nichols command, under some inferior officer, Nichol having embarked on board one of the Ships,—The Carron of 22 guns—This party appears to have been intended to *storm* the Fort *after it was silenced by the Vessels* for the purpose of destroying without mercy those who should survive the conflict in the re-encounter on the water side—This was evidently proven by an attempt made to advance on seeing the flag of the Fort shot down, believing that it had been struck to the conquering Vessels, and again withdrawing on seeing

[90] This repulse of the British from an unfinished fort is as gallant an action as is recorded in the history of the Union. It is not to be confounded with the attack by the whole British fleet and army in 1815 after the battle of New Orleans, when the result was necessarily different. A plan of the fort will be found in the plates to A. L. Latour's *War in West Florida and Louisiana.* This second battle occurred on Mobile Point at the very time Tatum was penning at New Orleans this account of the earlier victory.

The fort was named from Captain John Bowyer, of Virginia, who had been stationed above the line.

He was made a Lt. of Inf. March 7, 1792; in 3d sub-legion, Dec., 1792; in 3d Inf., Nov., 1896; Capt., Jan., 1799; retained, April, 1802, in 2d Inf.; Maj., 2d Inf., Aug. 18, 1808; Lt. Col., July 6, 1812; Col., 5th Inf., March 13, 1814; disbanded, June, 1815. He was a witness to the treaty with the Choctaws at St. Stephens, on August 31, 1803. He participated in the capture of Mobile in 1813, and commanded this fort built on Mobile Point by Wilkinson's order until recalled to Mobile. The work had never been finished and was abandoned until Lawrence re-occupied it.

it again hoisted—Great was the exertions, & valiantly was the action fought, on both sides until about 8 O'Clock in the night when the Hermes commanded by the intrepid Pearcy was discovered had her cable spring cut away, & she wore to a most distructive rakeing fire from the Fort and grounded, head on again she wore from her grounding—& drifted and again grounded was fired & abandoned at about 40 ch from the Fort where she now remains an evidence of the Bravery of the defenders of this little Fort.—The firing the Hermes was the act of those on board and took place immediately on her last grounding and the certain impossibility of saving her under the heavy cannonade of the Fort ascertained—The other Vessels slipt their cables & made off with as much speed as possible the whole (the Childress Brig excepted) having paid dear for the folly of their ill planned attempt—The Hermes & Carron each mounting 22 32 ℔ carronades & 6 12 ℔ carronades—The Sophia mounting 18 & the Childress 18 18 ℔ long guns composed the Squadron, who made this unwarranted attack of imprudence & false judgment.—It is believed from the caution of the commander of the Childress, in keeping aloof from the Fort, that on that occasion, at least, he had some qualms—The Sophia commanded by a Capt. Lockyer was bravely fought & suffered much so that it was with some diffiiculty she could be placed in a situation to regain the port at Pensacola—the loss in the Fort was 3 killed & 6 wounded one of whom died shortly after making in all 4 killed & 5 wounded by the enemy's shot—In the course of the action we had the misfortune, by the blowing up some cartridges, of having Capt. Walsh of the artillery & several men badly burned, some of whom died by this misfortune

Majr. Lawrence had prudently prevented Lt. Gilmar from passing the Fort while the enemy lay in view, believing he had been sent, more as a spy than a messenger merely bearing dispatches from his Governor to the General and he was actually on his return to Town—when this action took place—Captain Laval lay the whole time of the action in 4 miles of the Fort without having in his power to lend his aid, and so situated was he, having the Fort between himself & the shipping that he verily believed the fire to be the Tents & some board cabins near the Fort, and the explosion of the Vessel when it blew up, to have been the Forts magazine, and in this situation he returned to

Town on the 16th. nor was the Genl. better advised until the 17th. when great was naturally the joy experienced by all the *doubting friends* of the United States[91]—the enimical (which were not few in number) pleased in appearance until their pleasure received the shock of the Fort being safe and their friends severly handled humbled—Nay! Even Lt. Gilmar the officer of the friendly Government of Spaine, showed a face considerably attenuated at hearing this last piece of news, and with great anxiety appeared to request his passport, again to join his Royal friends at Pensacola, for whom, no doubt, his sympathy were much awakened.

The loss of the enemy on this occasion must have been great, but from the manner of its termination no correct information can reasonably be expected—from the accounts of deserters, on which little reliance can be placed, it would seem that it must have exceeded 200—Their own admission at Pensacola, states 80 or 90—The severity of the action and abandonment of the Hermes with only one boat load of men leads to a belief that the former is much nearer the correct loss of the enemy than the latter—certain it is that the loss must have been considerable.

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[91] Mobile had been in British lands seventeen years and had only just been taken by the Americans in time of peace from the Spaniards after thirty years of contentedness under the Bourbons. Loyalty to the United States had hardly had time to strike deep. Almost all the commissioners elected to govern the town under the Mississippi territorial act of 1814, were either Spaniards or had been there under Spanish rule. Jackson made no secret of his dislike of Spaniards at this time. He held them to be secret allies of the British and responsible for the Indian war and its atrocities.

XVIII. THE WORK OF WILLIAM HENRY FOWLER AS SUPERINTENDENT OF ARMY RECORDS, 1863-1865.[1]

By Thomas M. Owen.

Alabama was the first[2] of the seceding States which undertook, during the progress of hostilities, to preserve the records of her troops in the war betwen the States, for purposes of history, apart from the necessities of current official use.

As early as November 5, 1862, the General Assembly, in profound respect "for the heroic courage and valor displayed by them on every field of strife in which they have been engaged," passed a joint resolution, declaring among other things:

"That this general assembly begs most sincerely to mingle its sympathy with the relatives and friends of those who have fallen in the service of their country, whether in battle or from disease, and that the executive authority be requested to collect the names of all such and have them transcribed in a suitable record book, designating the corps to which they belonged, their rank in the service, and cause of death, to be preserved among the archives of the State as a token of respect to their memories."[3]

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[1] The original scope of this paper was much broader than a mere story of Mr. Fowler's efforts, and it was then entitled "The Military Records of Alabama." It embraced a full and detailed account of the records themselves, their contents, etc. Owing, however, to the projected report of the Alabama History Commission, intended to embrace an elaborate presentation of these as well as other records, all such reference has been eliminated.

The facts here given are taken from the sources indicated, and also from the original reports and documents, twenty-three in number, now on file in the office of the Adjutant General of Alabama, and endorsed as "Papers of Colonel W. H. Fowler, relating to his collection of Army Records."

For an account of the then known printed sources of information as to Alabama commands and soldiers, see Owen's *Bibliography of Alabama, passim.*

[2] In his first Quarterly Report, April 15, 1864, Mr. Fowler says: "Alabama having instituted this movement, other States are following her example, and the State of Virginia is not only imitating but endeavoring to surpass us in liberality and efficiency." On May 2, he reports North Carolina and South Carolina as having agents, with abundant means.

[3] *Acts Called and Second Annual Sess., 1862*, pp. 204-5.

For want of an appropriation, no effort appears to have been made to put this resolve into execution. About a year later, December 7, 1863, an Act was passed "more fully to explain and carry into effect" the resolution of November 5, 1862. It directed the Governor "to appoint a Superintendent of Army Records, with the rank and pay of a Colonel of Artillery whose duty it shall be to collect the names of all officers and soldiers from this State, who have been or may hereafter be muster d into the service of the Confederate States," etc. These records were to be "kept in the archives of the State, as a perpetual testimonial of the distinguished service these troops rendered." Minute regulations for keeping the books of record were laid down. The superintendent was to have "such assistance," and "such remuneration for expenses and labor" as the Governor might authorize. A proviso was added that the office might be discontinued in the discretion of the Governor, and the "records and business" transferred to the office of the Secretary of the State.[4]

The newly elected Governor, Thomas H. Watts, appointed to this arduous and difficult position William Henry Fowler,[5] a native of North Carolina. His parents emigrated to Alabama in 1826, locating first in Tuscaloosa, and later in Greene County. When the war came on, he had been a tailor, printer, druggist, editor and lawyer. He was elected Secretary of the Secession Convention of Alabama, but resigned, entered the military service, and served for a year as a Captain in the 5th Alabama Infantry. He then organized "Fowler's Battery," and from its command was appointed "Superintendent of Army Records." At the same time he was appointed "Agent to adjust the claims of Dec^d. soldiers from Alabama."

Receiving his commission on December 9, 1863, he set out for Richmond, which he reached January 9th following. He at once entered upon his duties. Visiting the various Departments, and explaining his business, he discovered that the officials had "a total disrelish" to his agency. But he found friends in Messrs. C. G. Memminger, Secretary of the Treasury, and in John A. Campbell,[6] Assistant Secretary of War. The latter at once issued

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[4] *Acts Called and Third Annual Sess., 1863*, pp. 92-3.

[5] For a meager general sketch of Mr. Fowler *see* Brewer's *Alabama*, p. 269. As to military record, *see Ibid*, pp. 596 and 701.

[6] According to Mr. DuBose in his *Life of Yancey*, the position of Mr. Campbell in the War Department of the Confederacy was most singular.

an order directing that "all facilities necessary and proper for the fulfilment of the mission be offered him." On February 5th he reported that he had established his office at a nominal cost in the Soldiers' Home.

An examination of the returns, in the office of the Adjutant and Quartermaster General, as to the commands from Alabama, showed them to be inaccurate and unreliable. On January 18th he wrote Governor Watts: "I find much confusion here in the records of our troops—especially so with reference to our dead." It became necessary, therefore, to obtain from the field the desired records. The War Department supplied him with the usual blank rolls. These he distributed; and he also sent out a circular appeal for data and information addressed "To the Officers and Soldiers, and others interested herein, from the State of Alabama."

What a thrill of heart must have come to these officers and soldiers, as they read that the facts secured were to "be compiled into an Historical Record, to be preserved in the archives of the State, for the benefit and satisfaction of the living, as a grateful tribute to the memory of the dead, and as a welcome presentation to our posterity, who, in freedom hereafter, will proudly hail this glorious roll of the Patriot Sons of Alabama."

From personal interviews and correspondence he aroused much interest on the part of the commanding officers. Gen. R. E. Rodes wrote, March 7, 1864, "I hope you will put your whole well known energy in this work and am glad it is in your hands. Its importance cannot be too highly estimated." In his first quarterly report, dated April 15, 1864, he says in reference to their coöperation: "I have reached the manifestation of a decided interest which is bringing me fair returns from many of them." He now had secured access to all the Departments as fully as he could ask; and on April 14, General Cooper issued an order to facilitate the work. He reports, April 15: "Gen'l Cooper was induced to issue this order because, he said, he was impressed with the essential service which this project of the State of Alabama is rendering to his department, in the forma-

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"Spurning the cause he served, ostensibly, holding in disdainful contempt the talents of its Chief Executive, his position at once inducted him into an influence which must appear as one of the most anomalous of examples which illustrate the tragical disappointments of the Confederacy."—*See* pp. 689, *et seq.*

tion of public opinion upon the importance of securing such records of the troops."

The more pressing duties as Agent to adjust claims, &c., greatly retarded his work as Superintendent during the early days of his labors. He complains somewhat vigorously of his lack of time to devote to the collection of the records. He declares in his report of April 15, "This should be, really, the more important consideration; and to my mind, it seems unfortunate that the condition of the claims of our dec^d. soldiers has necessitated such engrossment of time to the detriment of operations herein. As gratifying and as necessary as the speedy and correct settlement of individual cases may be to the parties interested, and as benevolent and politic as it may be to soothe their wounded feelings by such kindly attention, nevertheless, this is *for the present*—the Records are *for the future*, wherein substantial benefit and gratification too can be conferred upon the public and individuals also,—and every delay is time lost in contribution to confusion and oblivion."

His duties as Agent to adjust the claims of deceased soldiers from Alabama, went along with his labors as Superintendent. Indeed, during the first part of his term he complained that it consumed the larger part of his time. He found the Alabama Division, 2nd Auditor's Office, in charge of a Marylander, who displayed no special zeal in his work. He reports that he "found a confusion, want of system, negligence and delay, so far as Alabama claims are concerned which is totally inexcusable." Up to December 31, 1863, the report of L. Calvert, Chief Clerk of the Division of Deceased Soldiers' Claims disclosed, as filed from Alabama, 8,060 claims, of which 1,383 had been settled, and 6,677 were unsettled. Notwithstanding the unfriendliness of officials, "the state of wretched confusion" in the 2nd Auditor's Office, and the great accumulation of claims, he put himself resolutely to his task. He received encouragement from Mr. Memminger; and the Confederate Congress passed on February 16, 1864, a bill to aid State Agents. Mississippi and Georgia also had Agents in Richmond. One year later, February 20, 1865, he was able to write Governor Watts that he had perfected "quite every claim on file belonging to this Army," and enclosed a copy of an Act the passage of which he had secured in Congress, which would enable him "to save a very large amount of valuables

& articles of 'Mememto' belonging to the relatives of deceased soldiers in the State."

In his labors he found himself greatly embarrassed for want of necessary and efficient clerical assistance. His correspondence with Governor Watts and Adjutant General Joel Riggs on this point shows the many embarrassments of the executive office during these trying times, even on so small a matter. Inferior assignments were made him, at one time a boy who had lost an arm, and at another a soldier who could not write. At last when the Governor designated a certain individual, whose war record was not good, his impatience and vexation May 2, breaks forth: "Your well known generosity is imposed upon in such instances to the detriment of the work to be done." And again: "I can make this work exceedingly useful for the State & popular for your administration if I am liberally sustained. If I am cramped & restrained I cannot do it;—and, being merely *half done*, it will reflect no credit upon either you or me." He at last by direct selection and detail, secured valuable assistants, by whose aid he pushed rapidly forward.

But the indifference of the heads of Departments, the delays in securing returns from the field, and the inefficiency of clerical assistants, embarrassed him very little in comparison with the stress of finances. He left Montgomery with five hundred dollars, and spent for travel alone, via Dalton to Richmond, eighty-one dollars and seventy-five cents, while his expenses for the trip were two hundred and seventy-eight dollars. In his first communication to the Governor he comments on the enormous personal expenses he must incur; board at the cheapest place, one hundred and thirty dollars per month, everything else in proportion, and all prices advancing. Later he says, referring to cost for printing, for an office, &c., that he will "economise my expenses of office as much as possible." On April 15, he writes almost piteously, to Mr. Riggs, that if his salary is restricted to mere per diem as Colonel of Artillery, $210.00 per month, "it will not afford me bread." "I have economized in living as much as possible—*cooked for myself*, until I was forced to send for my wife[7] and institute a 'mess' for 3 or 4 in similar condition, and we divide expenses." Even then, he says, expenses are ten to fifteen dollars per day. His wife aiding him thus, and also as a Clerk,

[7] She was the daughter of John M. Bates, first Sheriff of Greene County.

had enabled him to live cheaply and do more work. Up to this date two thousand five hundred dollars had been spent. The reply of Mr. Riggs on April 29, shows even a more deplorable condition in financial affairs in the State. He says he intended to send two thousand dollars to pay salary, "but on applying to the Treasurer I find he has not that much money except in State change bills, which may not circulate in Richmond;" so sends him one thousand dollars, all the Treasurer had to pay. Later Mr. Fowler returned a remittance of one thousand dollars, in five dollar old Confederate issue, because not available except at a discount of one-third. And so the story continues to the end. The recital of these trying details is but a truthful picture of conditions not now to be contemplated save with a groan.

Although Mr. Fowler was duly impressed with the dignity and importance of his position, he nevertheless chafed under its restraints. He was an active man. He had seen service in command of his battery, and being, as he was in Richmond, in daily touch with the news of incidents and events at the front, it is no surprise that he should write the Governor: "I say to you frankly, that, though I can devote my energies to it, yet my heart is not in it. I would much rather be in the 'thunder of the guns' as a Colonel of Artillery in fact.—And by the way, I must tell you that it is not vanity which makes this title acceptable now; but I wear it simply as a means of 'ingress and egress' amongst the vain fools that touch their caps to military titles when they would impede my business as a plain citizen." With what fine scorn he must have penned this last statement! On April 15, he says in a letter to Mr. Riggs: "Army movements above indicate a speedy collision between Lee and Grant, and it promises to be the great struggle of the war. I intend to be there," but he adds, "merely as Superintendent of Army Records;" and on May 19, he says that at the beginning of the existing excitements, he was requested to take command of the artillery defences of "South Side"—Manchester, and hence has been in the field quite constantly.

He did not, however, suffer himself to turn aside. The collecting progressed, and the records of the Army of Tennessee, and of the troops serving South of Virginia, were completed as far as possible, and deposited in the Capitol at Montgomery. The surrender of General Lee found him engaged on the records

of Alabamians in the Army of Northern Virginia. The close of hostilities ended his official career in Richmond, and the last named records he retained in his possession.

During the succeeding six months in the seceding States, dramatic events followed each other in quick succession. Gen. Richard Taylor, on May 4, 1865, surrendered the Military Department of Alabama to Gen. Canby; Lewis E. Parsons, June 21, was made Provisional Governor; and a Constitutional Convention to put the State in harmony with changed conditions was in session, September 12 to September 30; and on November 20, the General Assembly convened.

Moved by the same spirit that prompted the passage of the resolves and act above, the House of Representatives, December 4, called on the Governor for such information as he might have, concerning the records of Alabama troops.[8] To this he responded two days later in a special message, transmitting a report made to him by Mr. Fowler.[9] The message and accompanying documents went to a special committee, H. S. Whitefield, chairman. This Committee on December 8, made its report:[10]

"That we have had the same under consideration and find that under the provisions of an act approved December 7, 1863, W. H. Fowler was appointed Superintendent of Army Records for the purpose specified in the act, being to collect for preservation, by the State, historical memoranda of Alabama soldiers, and that, under an act approved December 8th, 1863, 'for the relief of families of deceased soldiers,' he was appointed an agent to settle and adjust certain claims for the benefit of such families; and that in the discharge of his duties under these appointments, he collected the records and memoranda, as set forth in his report to the Governor, and made a part of his message, and which is herewith annexed and submitted as a part of this report.

"The committee further find that when the duties of the said W. H. Fowler ceased by operation of law, there was due to him, and unpaid by the State, for labor and expenses authorized to be incurred, the sum of ($13,838) thirteen thousand eight hundred

[8] House *Journal, 1865-66*, p. 94; *see also*, p. 70.

[9] *Ibid.* pp. 107-112. The report of Mr. Fowler, full of interesting details is appended to this paper.

[10] *Ibid.* pp. 114-15.

and thirty-eight dollars, as appears from the books and files of the Auditor's Office, and as is shown by the papers accompanying the Governor's message, and that he is forever debarred and precluded from receiving the same by force of the existing laws; leaving to him the records named as his own property, because the State has failed to take them and to compensate him therefor; and that, thereby, he is in rightful possession of them as his property."

Thereupon the Committee reported a bill, which was read the first, second and third times, under a suspension of the Constitutional rule and passed. It is entitled "An Act to obtain and preserve Records of Alabama Soldiers.[11] The exalted sentiment of its Preamble does honor to the Assembly that passed it:

"WHEREAS, It is noble, and customary in all civilized nations, to honor and perpetuate the memory of those who fall in the service of the State; and whereas, it is eminently just and proper, in the exercise of the natural and sacred affection for her brave sons, who surrendered their lives at her demand in the late war, and respect for the services of those who went forth to battle at her command, that the State of Alabama shall cause to be preserved such authenticated memorials of them as it may be possible to obtain," &c.

This Act simply provided for the purchase of all of the papers collected by Mr. Fowler, for the sum of $3,000.00. They were to be deposited in the archives of the State, "as a perpetual memorial concerning her soldiers named therein." Mr. Fowler then delivered all his papers and collections to the State.

Subsequently, February 21, 1866, another Act was approved—"To continue and complete the collection of the records of Alabama soldiers in the late war."[12] It provided that the Adjutant and Inspector General should be the custodian of the Fowler papers, and of such other data and information as he should collect. He was to open an extensive correspondence for the purpose of adding to and completing the work already begun. For this he was to be allowed, in addition to his salary, $600.00 per annum and necessary travelling expenses. Nothing was ever done under this act. The rapid change of incumbents of the

[11] *Acts, 1865-66*, p. 43.
[12] *Ibid*, pp. 96-7.

office, and the critical condition of the times made work of the sort secondary in importance.[13]

As is stated in Mr. Fowler's report to Governor Parsons, hereto appended, the records collected of the Alabama troops in the Army of Tennessee were "lost or mislaid" in the evacuation of Montgomery.[14] So far as can be ascertained these particular records have never been recovered.

It appears that after the receipt of the papers, they were deposited, together with other papers and books of a military character, in a cellar of the Capitol. How long they remained there no one seems now to know. Inaccessible, mouldy and covered with dust, their existence had almost been forgotten. During the administration of Gov. Thomas G. Jones, he employed W. S. Ford, Esq., to assort, arrange and index them. The result of his work is embodied in a "Compilation of Records, Correspondence, Muster Rolls, &c., on File in the Adjutant General's Office," which forms *Appendix viii*, to the *Report of the Adjutant General of Alabama*, 1892-94, pp. 193-224. This compilation exhibits quite fully and in detail the extent and character of all military records now possessed by the State, the principal part of which are the Fowler Papers.

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[13] The State at this period seems to have been unusually alive to the value and importance of work of this character. On Nov. 25, 1865, in the Hall of the House of Representatives, the Historical Association of Alabama was organized with a long array of prominent members. But enthusiasm did not long endure. The Association probably met a few times informally, but it issued no publications, and now has no existence.

[14] The records were carried from the Capitol to the city of Eufaula, and were in charge of John B. Taylor, Esq., State Agent. In June, 1865, they were returned, in 175 boxes. The steamer "Indian" was paid six hundred dollars for their transportation from Eufaula to Columbus, Ga. They went thence by rail to Union Springs and from the latter point to Montgomery by wagons. The Montgomery *Advertiser*, Aug. 10, 1893, in commenting on Mr. Ford's work of arranging the records, etc., gives a short account of their treatment just after the war.

APPENDIX.

MR. FOWLER'S REPORT TO GOVERNOR PARSONS.[15]

MONTGOMERY, ALA., *Dec. 4th, 1865.*

To His Excellency Lewis E. Parsons, Provisional Governor of Alabama:

SIR: Under the act of the Legislature, approved December 7th, 1863, I was appointed Superintendent of Army Records for the State of Alabama, for the purposes specified in the act.

In the discharge of the duties of that office, I collected a large and interesting mass of records, comprising returns from the greater portion of the troops in the field from this State; being carefully prepared rolls of company, regimental and brigade organizations, showing the names and service of men and officers; deaths and other casualties; names, dates and reports of battles; personal incidents worthy to be preserved; and very complete histories in full of many regiments and special companies. And, upon a plan adopted in accordance with the directions of the law, I was in a fair way to speedily complete the work contemplated. The events, however, of April and May, 1865, brought it to an abrupt termination in consequent confusion; and much of the material that I had accumulated, having been deposited by me in the State Capitol at Montgomery, was lost or misplaced in the evacuation of this city, at the date named. These missing records pertain principally to the army of Tennessee and the troops serving South of Virginia, and I have some hope that they may yet be reclaimed. I was at Richmond at the time named, endeavoring to get the records of the Alabamians in the army of Northern Virginia; in which effort I succeeded most happily, and have preserved them almost entire—only wanting the addition of some small organizations which I was estopped from obtaining, and the casualties and events of the memorable closing scenes immediately preceding and at the time of the surrender of General Lee.

These documents I have not kept clandestinely, but informed the Federal commander nearest to my residence of my possession of them, and also notified your Excellency. And I have brought them here for such disposition as the General Assembly may choose to make of them—thinking, as I did, that it would desire, in the spirit of the law of 1863, and in accordance with the common custom of civilization, which is never objected to by a generous victor, to honor the brave men who fought, and the gallant sons of Alabama who died, as they believed, for her interests and honor, by preserving every available authentic memorial of them and their deeds—deeds, which, however much the State may have erred in the issue made, and notwithstanding the arbitrament of the sword has decided that issue against her, have clothed her with an imperishable renown.

The paper herewith, marked "A," is an exhibit of all the regimental and brigade organizations, showing the number of men and casualties from various causes, of Alabamians, in the army of Northern Virginia, prepared by me from my records only a few weeks previous to the surrender. I have the records quite complete for all the commands here named—except as mentioned for the closing scenes—besides which I have some batteries of artillery and cavalry companies, parts of smaller infantry commands, and memoranda of Alabamians attached to other organizations in same army.

In addition hereto, I have the records to the time I received them, of the 18th, 31st, 32d, 36th, 38th and 58th Infantry Regiments, with some batteries of Artillery and Cavalry commands, which belonged to the Army of Tennessee, together with transcripts of muster rolls of a few Alabama commands, rosters of officers, and a list of general officers, re-

[15] From House *Journal*, 1865-66, pp. 108-112.

ports of battles, &c., obtained at Richmond. But, as before stated, the most of my collections from these sources was lost in the evacuation of Montgomery.

Further, in addition to the above, under a law "for the relief of families of deceased soldiers," &c., approved Dec. 8th, 1863, I was agent on the part of the State to settle and adjust certain claims for the benefit of such families, and I have preserved the books and papers of this Department, wherein I have the names of not less than ten thousand dead, representing nearly every command from Alabama.

Of course an accurate estimate cannot be made from such imperfect data of the number of troops sent into the field from this State, and their casualties by death and otherwise; but an approximation to it might be made by considering the number in the Army of Northern Virginia in comparison with the residue. It will be under the mark to assume that the number of Alabamians in that army was not less than thirty thousand (30,000)—exclusive of the 26th Alabama Infantry Regiment, which was there for a considerable time, and suffered severely, with a loss by death from battle and disease, *in connection with the commands* of over nine thousand, or a fraction less than one-third!

This does not include deaths after resignation, retirement, or discharge; and of these classes, I find that about one-half are either dead or permanently disabled. To include the deaths during the last days of that army would make this estimate fall far short of the reality. I am satisfied that I am safe in saying that the Alabamians in the Army of Northern Virginia were not more than one-fourth of the whole number in the field from this State; and that, whilst the ratio of casualties may be somewhat less for the remainder, it is not materially less—except it may be of killed in battle. Besides what I have lost, I have the names of nearly twenty thousand dead; and this cannot exceed one half of the whole! It is a mournful record, but honorable to the brave who sleep in soldiers' graves, and alike honorable to the State for whom they died. I assert, with confidence, that Alabama sent more troops into the service in proportion to population than any other State of the South, and that her loss was heavier than any other, irrespective of population. I am certain, too, that when Gen. Lee surrendered his army the representation from Alabama, on the field that day, was inferior to no other Southern State in numbers, and surely not in gallantry. My Records illustrate these with other important facts, in the history of Alabama soldiers.

The papers hereto attached, marked "B" and "C," [16] exhibit my account with the State; being abstracts from the books in the Auditor's office. Upon this subject, though a large balance for expenditure and labour appears in my favor, which I expected would be reimbursed to me, I make no demand, but refer the disposition of the documents in my possession to the wisdom and justice of the Executive and the Legislature.

Very Respectfully,
Your Obedient Servant,
W. H. Fowler.

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[16] These are not set out in the *Journal.*

"A." RECAPITULATION OF ALABAMA TROOPS IN

ORGANIZATIONS.	Aggregate.	Killed.	Died of Disease.	Died of Wounds.	Resigned.
GRACIE'S BRIGADE (*Moody's*)					
23d Alabama Battalion, . .	292	19	59	10	7
41st Infantry Regiment, . .	1,454	73	366	29	18
43d " " . .	1,123	60	210	23	21
59th " " . .	1,470	100	232	39	12
60th " " . .	1,232	76	223	16	17
Total, ...	5,571	328	1,090	117	75
FORNEY'S BRIGADE.					
8th Alabama Infantry Reg.,	1,377	217	156	72	20
9th " " "	1,138	151	169	41	16
10th " " "	1,429	199	209	69	17
11th " " "	1,192	200	177	62	15
13th " " "	1,245	97	274	41	22
14th " " "	1,317	174	348	71	34
Total, ...	7,698	1,038	1,333	356	120
LAW'S BRIGADE (*Perry's*).					
4th Alabama Infantry Reg.,	1,422	179	81	54	38
15th " " "	1,633	177	438	80	29
44th " " "	1,094	105	192	30	20
47th " " "	1,066	102	166	29	25
48th " " "	1,045	105	161	41	41
Total, ...	6,260	668	1,038	234	153
BATTLE'S BRIGADE.					
5th Alabama Infantry Reg.,	1,719	176	239	100	23
6th " " "	2,109	284	243	89	39
12th " " "	1,417	180	189	54	26
61st " " "	889	62	98	9	3
3d " " "	1,651	172	119	79	21
Total, ...	7,785	874	888	331	112
Grand Total, ...	27,314	2,908	4,349	1,038	464

"There is also to be computed in the Army of Northern Virginia, the 5th Alabama Infantry Battalion, three companies 1st Confederate Battalion (infantry), Hurts' Battery of light artillery, Lee's Battery of light artillery, Jeff.

THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA, FEBRUARY 1, 1865.

Retired.	Discharged.	Executed.	Deserted.	Transferred.	Remainder on the Rolls.	Absent Captured.	Absent Otherwise.	Total Present.
4	40	. .	21	14	118	4	24	90
13	80	1	159	55	660	67	178	415
6	118	1	124	43	517	41	116	360
3	79	1	104	172	728	71	219	438
9	103	. .	81	50	657	10	81	566
35	420	3	489	334	2,680	193	618	1,869
21	155	. .	141	81	514	91	137	286
7	147	2	108	61	436	95	229	112
8	210	. .	59	66	592	51	214	327
6	169	. .	27	80	456	60	168	228
20	202	. .	70	64	455	138	124	193
9	126	1	28	33	493	67	139	287
71	1,009	3	433	385	2,946	502	1,011	1,433
9	389	1	72	119	480	54	142	284
21	183	. .	51	46	608	136	166	306
15	95	. .	69	47	521	66	188	267
12	132	. .	64	76	460	38	150	272
3	91	. .	77	34	492	59	243	190
60	890	1	333	322	2,561	353	889	1,319
28	313	. .	37	194	609	171	207	231
16	385	. .	87	290	676	160	221	295
11	212	. .	161	38	546	94	169	283
9	33	. .	89	24	562	105	157	300
15	377	. .	38	228	602	113	255	234
79	1,320	. .	412	774	2,995	643	1,009	1,343
245	3,639	7	1,667	1,815	11,182	1,691	3,527	5,964

Davis' Artillery, and five companies of cavalry, (Jeff. Davis' Legion), besides miscellaneous squads, and individuals—in all, about 3,000 men, with the same proportion of casualties as above."

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